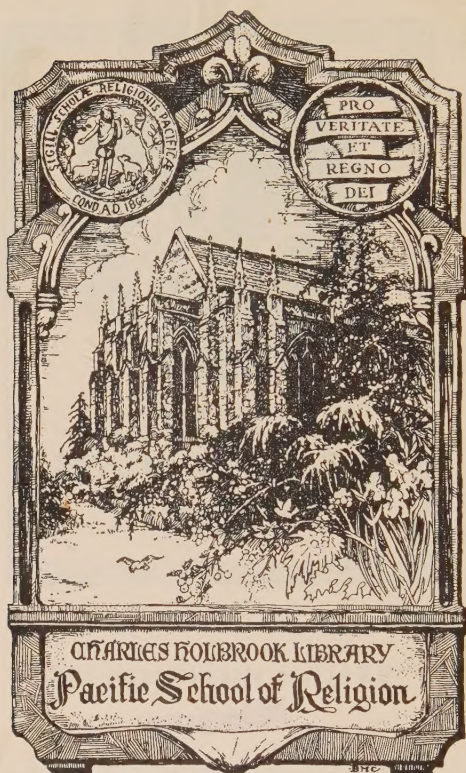








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Guppy

BULLETIN
OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

VOL. 25
AUGUST 1941

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OF
HENRY GUPPY

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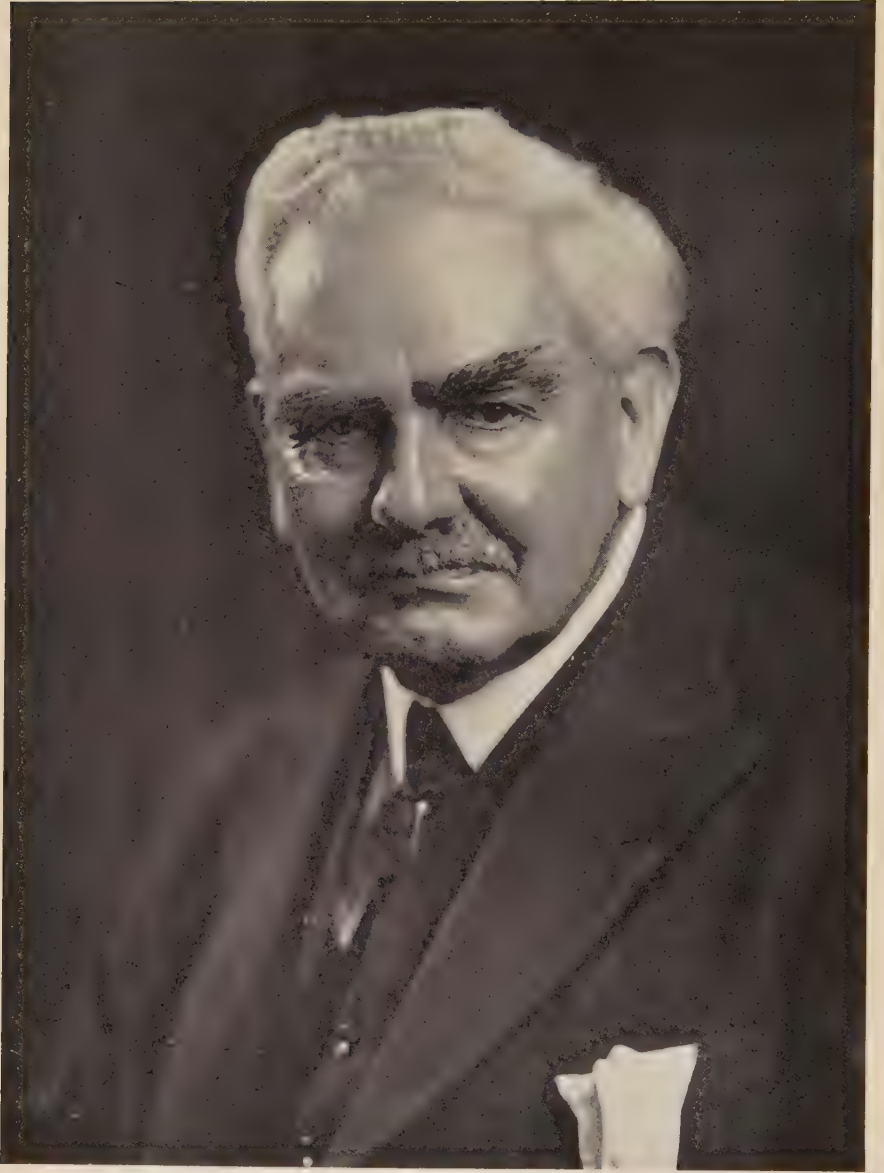
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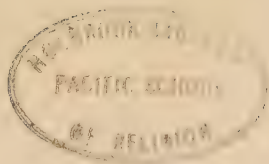


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BULLETIN
OF
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EDITED FOR THE OCCASION BY
H. B. CHARLTON
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER
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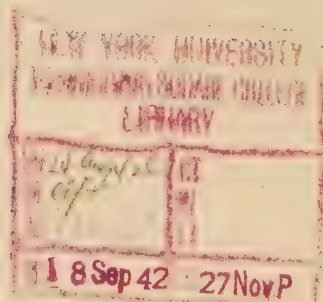
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BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
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MANCHESTER

EDITED FOR
THE OCCASION
BY
H. B. CHARLTON

VOL. 25

AUGUST, 1941

SPECIAL VOLUME

PREFATORY NOTE.

By SIR JOHN S. B. STOPFORD,

VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER AND CHAIRMAN
OF THE COUNCIL OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

IN 1899 Dr. Henry Guppy was appointed Librarian of the John Rylands Library, and on October 6th of the same year that munificent gift of Mrs. Rylands was formally dedicated for public use. Dr. Fairbairn in his inaugural address on that memorable occasion stated that the event "calls for national jubilation": under the wise and devoted leadership of its Librarian it has long been a cause for international rejoicing. Dr. Guppy has secured for the John Rylands Library an honoured position amongst the libraries of the world.

At the moment of the outbreak of the war the Governors had under consideration plans to recognise the debt which scholars, now and for all time, owe to Dr. Guppy for his outstanding achievements during the past forty years. Unfortunately the restrictions imposed by the war have made it impracticable to proceed with some of these plans, but it has been possible to produce this special number of the BULLETIN which is dedicated to our great Librarian and beloved friend. Possibly this decision by the Governors is the first action which they have ever taken without seeking the advice of Dr. Guppy, for, from the outset, they have seen that he, more than they, clearly realised the full meaning and possibilities of Mrs. Rylands' gift; their confidence that he would interpret them with conspicuous and unique success has been justified even beyond all reasonable conjecture. He has made the Library what it is, and we are proud to acknowledge that fact.

A MESSAGE

FROM HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

THE Rylands Library is one of the glories of Manchester and one of the treasures of England. It is a possession for ever—unless the fury of enemies destroys it. But however long it lasts, its fame will be inseparably connected with the name of the great Librarian whom all who know him delight to honour at this time.

To attend some of the Committees of the Library was one of my greatest pleasures during eight happy years in Manchester. It was a home of peace and learning; we were able to think solely of the best equipment of that temple of human culture, with no regard to any ulterior object. We escaped from the atmosphere of division and debate which always pervades the handling of those things which are means to ends beyond themselves into the serene calm of those occupations which are themselves the true ends of the human spirit. I used to be reminded of the saying of Emerson: "People disparage knowing and the intellectual life, and urge doing. I am very content with knowing, if only I could know. That is an august entertainment and would suffice me a great while."

Of course, behind this serenity there was energy and efficiency. Peace, in this world, is not the thing that happens of itself. The only real peace is successful enterprise, but when the enterprise is truly successful, its own quality, not its result but its inherent character, is peace; and there is no other peace.

The presiding genius of this temple of true peace was Dr. Guppy. His was the energy and efficiency—an energy so efficient that we never paused to notice it, but gave ourselves to enjoyment of the peace of mind and soul which we owed to it. So, no doubt, it has been throughout his long and beneficent reign; and all of us who have profited by it wish to express to him and to the world our admiration and our gratitude.

WILLIAM EBOR.

H. G. CVSTODI.

In tumultuante vico propter concursus fori
Stat domus dicata Musis, stat quiete perpeti,
Qua solent se recreare bonis libris dediti.

Stridet extra plebs clamosa, fervet municipium,
Omnis turba nummos quaerit, ecce vox quaerentium :
Hic nihil venale mutat studii silentium.

Hic sophiae margaritam quisquis appetit tenet,
Hic legendo contemplando ditior factus manet,
Gratis hic zelator aevi medii thesauros habet.

Qui per octo lustra, praesul, hoc nostrum Vivarium
Ampliasti, custodisti, quidquid necessarium
Sit claustralibus modernis conflans in granarium ;

Qui dilexisti libellos expolitos pumice,
Qui vetustos incomptosque, sciscitans e codice
Stirpem posterosque textus, certior de radice ;

Qui tam pulchram comparasti Bibliarum copiam,
Paginae sacrae per annos enarrans historiam,
(Quartam sic papyri fragmen condit Evangeliam) ;

Qui crematam restaurasti rem Lovaniensibus,
Qui tutamen exulatis praestas te scholaribus,
Anxias solando mentes in tantis tumultibus ;

Te salutamus fidelem genium, doctorem pium,
Te dispersa iam dolentem : quare quaesumus Deum
Ut salvet redintegretque tale refrigerium.

[By E. F. JACOB, PROFESSOR OF MEDIÆVAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF
MANCHESTER, AND GOVERNOR OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.]

THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARIAN.

By H. B. CHARLTON,

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER,
TRUSTEE AND GOVERNOR OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

EVERY year, at its January meeting, amongst other formal items of annual business, the Council of the Governors of the John Rylands Library adopts a resolution that the warrant confirming the Librarian in his office, with the duties, authority and powers thereto attached, be renewed for a further year. In some corner of the muniment room there is doubtless a document specifying those duties and powers. But from the Chairman downwards, not a single member of the Council could recite the terms of this bond, nor quote even two consecutive clauses of its formal enactments. Indeed, not more than one or two of the Governors has either seen the warrant or heard it read. And not a single one of the Governors during the last quarter of a century has ever wanted to see it or to hear it read. The Council knows that the great Library it has the honour to govern is in fact something which its Librarian has made; and its approval of the annual resolution is a ritual of pious thanksgiving celebrated in the hope that the Librarian may continue to be able and willing to minister in his own way to the further progress of the John Rylands Library.

The Library is a local, national and international institution; so also is Henry Guppy. I am not now alluding to the insignia of monumental impressiveness with which nature endowed him nor to the additional decorations emblazoned for him by the heraldry of academies and of nations. These have been merely the occasion or the consequence of Guppy's achievements, not their cause. In appearance and in manner he was and is naturally fitted to work the proper spell on all types of people who make a librarian's world. From the outset, the Trustees and Governors recognised the assured bearing of a man who knows the opportunities of his task and inspires confidence by the zeal

he so obviously thirsts to dedicate to its service. The public has found him a majestic symbol of the serene spirit of culture and yet a priest sparing himself no effort to bring them into the mysteries. His staff may have found him exacting, but benignly exacting ; he has never exacted what he himself was not prepared to devote ; and in his government, no manner could combine authority with sympathy better than does his. Even his service staff, from porter to engineer, within their awe of him must have been mainly conscious of his personal care for them ; he has always won their reverence. Above all, his natural manner and his habitual suavity have won for him the gratitude of generations of students, old and distinguished ones, because he appreciated their purpose and spread before them the riches of which he disposed with such unfeigned joy, and young tyros, because he somehow infected them with the feeling that they had in him a monitor and a friend whose real concern was the success of the little dissertations by which they hoped to write themselves Masters of Arts.

In all these functions, the fatherly dignity which nature provided in his appearance has been enhanced by the honourable ribbons which the world has attached to his name. The King honoured him with the C.B.E. ; the University of Louvain, of whose Library he is virtually the second founder, made him Doctor Philosophiae et Litterarum, and Albert of Belgium added to this his medal ; our own University honoured itself by naming him Doctor of Letters *honoris causa* ; and societies of librarians and bibliophiles, as different as the national work-a-day Library Association is from the hierophantically exclusive Roxburghe Club, have inscribed him on their rolls of honour. Henry Guppy, C.B.E., M.A., D.Phil. et Litt. (Louvain), Litt.D. (Manchester), Medaille du roi Albert, and so on. In this fashion the Librarian of the John Rylands Library has been decorated for his achievements, and has been strengthened in those powers which he exercises to go on achieving.

But reiterating that Guppy is an institution, and after listing the regalia which by the gifts of God and the recognition of men he so excellently uses in the service of his Librarianship, one must state unequivocally one's own estimate of Guppy's essential

merit. All the more so, in this increasingly mechanised and institutionalised world. For librarians have now followed our doctors, our lawyers, our dentists and our chartered accountants, in establishing themselves under trade union forms, or as perhaps it is more proper to express it, as a professional corporation closely protected by legal entrenchments, with hierarchic orders duly prescribed, and with appropriate alphabetical symbols to tag on to their names as signs of initiation and of rank. No doubt, rightly : it must be right, for Guppy himself has not only been President of the Library Association ; he has fostered, organised and even conducted courses with the object of qualifying young librarians to rise to associateship or fellowship within the Library Association. Much formalisation is of course necessary to the routine of efficient librarianship. But all mere book-users who run into the Dewey system must be aware of the hazards of library mechanisation. I once sought Anthony à Wood's *Athenae Oxoniensis* in vain amongst Reference, Biographical and History sections of a well-known library (not the John Rylands), and found it under Education, because, I was told, Oxford was a word in the title ! And the librarian did not see the joke even when I pointed it out to him. But Guppy has always seen the machine as a means to the end, or rather, to his end, which has always been the same, the usefulness of the John Rylands Library to the people who make use of it.

Hence this estimate of Guppy's essential merit. It is this : that though he is an institution, he is, first and last, himself, Henry Guppy. His professional supremacy is the outcome of his personality. To say that he is the born librarian is to speak but a fragment of the truth. The whole truth is that he is the born librarian of the John Rylands Library. He is, then, unique. Some few others may justly claim to be the ideal occupants of their office ; but is there any other person who has shaped his office so that it and he become a conjunction realising the ideal of both ?

From youth, Guppy has lived amongst books. It is no part of this article to write a biography of Guppy. He is yet very much alive, and the objective facts of precedent periods of his career are duly recorded in books of reference, whilst achieve-

ments to come will still provide matter for added chapters. But some incidents of the days before he came to the fullness of his present vigour help one to understand what he now is. The more directly personal and domestic phases one must leave out ; Guppy has always had that grand Victorian belief in the inalienable right of every man to the privacy of his own deepest emotions of love and of domesticity. But at least this can be said, that even if Guppy could have been what he is without the sustenance of domestic affection and unbroken conjugal and filial sympathy, he could never have continued to be what he is.

But to pick up the incident of Guppy's youth. There is a story that after leaving school, his first occupation was with a firm who made and distributed books ; characteristically, a firm whose primary concern was, in a mercantile but not a derogatory sense, with educational books, and, moreover, whose market was international and not at all the circulating library. But, still at an early age, he turned from the commerce of books to professional bibliophily, acting as Sub-Librarian to Sion College Library. What he saw there in miniature became the nuclear idea of the John Rylands Library. He perceived how a library, independent of the vagaries of municipal politics, could be at one and the same time a cell of specialist scholarship and a centre of wide human culture. His appointment to the John Rylands Library in 1899, before the Library was officially opened, gave him his opportunity. He saw how chance had made it possible for a theological repository to become a bibliographical microcosm of all the liberal arts. The Althorp sale opened unmeasurable vistas as the proper and necessary development of what was at first conceived as a storehouse of Biblical lore. Theology could be persuaded to embrace the Humanities ; and, Lucina Guppy, their offspring was the John Rylands Library. Guppy realised how auspicious the birth was. His own character is essentially religious, religious in the non-doctrinal way which is often called Nonconformist, the Victorian variety of religious temper which is the mainspring of Browning's poetry. Its aim is to gather the richest of the enduring things of life for the service of God. And Guppy guided the growth of the John Rylands Library in this secular archiepiscopal fashion, archbishop *in partibus*, may

be, but *omnium litterarum humaniorum*. Now, no European conclave of librarians is complete without him.

Even the Gothic architecture of the building, its external shape, and its internal detail, is in some sort his own outer garment, his proper chasuble and his stole. The most solemn of its regular ceremonies is the ritual when the Librarian reaches from its shelf in the Bible-room the 42-line Bible to lay it before an entranced novice or to place it in the hands of some foreign pundit visiting the shrine. The whole man is in the service and in the ceremony; it symbolises him and the Library. Moreover, Guppy endows the more, and even the most, secular of his professional activities in his daily task with similar solemn graciousness of form. One would like to see him in the act of signing a cheque. His notepaper, even his postcards, are emblems fit for the imprint they bear; and the script, which with his own hand he imposes on them, is a characteristic mark of his personal identification with his charge. There are, of course, typewriters in the Library; but what it is Guppy's own office to perform, he performs with his own hand.

But it would be wrong to think even for a moment that Guppy has built this sanctuary of learning, and then barricaded it and himself against the outer world. There is an astute business man somewhere inside Henry Guppy. When he looks in on Quaritch or Sotheran, one would give much to see the novel sides of his genius undreamed of by those to whom he is the officiating minister in Deansgate. He has not only a flair for discovery: he has a way of securing what will be acclaimed as *desiderata*, though he himself first guessed them and their kind to be things worth any great library's having. By tact, by astuteness, by native alertness and by no less native honesty, and, when the situation calls, by blandishment, he enriches the Library's shelves by adding another precious item to them, incorporating another considerable collection, or, looking to remoter fields, by devising a bibliomath's voyage of discovery. He allures donors to liberality, he inspires colleagues with zest for the chase, he makes booksellers feel a sense of the duty they owe to the John Rylands Library. To train their scent, he regularly excites his assistants to hunt amongst the cellars and the barrows

towards Shude-hill. As Chairman of the Book Committee, I am often thrilled to find in the accounts which I initial for payment a slip in the hand of one of our assistants in the Library—6d. for this or that sixteenth-century pamphlet, or 2s. 6d. for a rare though tattered-looking volume, say by Richard Baxter (and any Baxter not in the Rylands is a very rare book), items smelled out in some dingy book cellar within a mile of Manchester's Royal Exchange. Only a historian can tell with the proper awe the story of how, dropping into the room of Quaritch's managing director, Guppy saw a manuscript lying on the table, and by instinct rather than by historical knowledge felt that it ought to be bought. He gave £250 for it and found he had secured for the John Rylands the earliest extant copy of the *Laws of Henry I*, a manuscript which one of our greatest constitutional mediævalists rhapsodically declares to be of primary importance.

But these exercises of Guppy's uncanny flair are legion. On one occasion he came by an Aldine Latin *Horae* printed on vellum in 1529, one not only unknown to Renouard, but categorically denied existence by him. It is in the John Rylands now; and it cost only £100. Nowadays, indeed, Guppy's smelling sense is so widely known that Mahomet has not always to go out to the mountain. The mountain is acquiring a habit of coming to him. A year or two ago, for instance, a rich lot of Johnsoniana in manuscript was first offered to Guppy.

There clearly is the astute business man in Guppy. But the arts of business only reach part of his business. The biggest bulk of Rylands' additions in our generation have been by donation or by bequests. By the help which freely and unselfishly he has given to them, and by the confidence he engenders in them, Guppy makes friends with the private and the amateur book-collector. In due course there are transfers from their shelves to ours. Dr. Lloyd Roberts and Dr. Thomas Windsor, twenty years ago, and Dr. Larmuth, the other day, would not have bequeathed their precious volumes to a mere book-emporium. They willingly left their treasures to Guppy's Library. Once more, it is the same story; it is Guppy the man who is the secret of Guppy the Librarian.

But it is time now, as far as a mere scholar and an amateur

book-lover can do so, to try to say what specifically are the professional qualities which are sprung from Guppy's natural genius. Nothing further need be said about their guiding spirit, Guppy's passionate devotion to all that counts for the good of the John Rylands Library. But what one now wants to diagnose are the specifically professional schemes which have been his policy and his technique. By a nice adjustment of idealistic and realistic projects, he has planned the growth of the Library not as an increasing number of volumes, but as an extending series of collections. He has allowed opportunity its run in prompting his choice, just as the chance of the Althorp sale determined the groundwork. But he has taken opportunity in the Greek way. It comprises not only the chance possibilities of acquisition; it also implies an eye for the opportune. Collections, as distinct from accumulations, need the guiding mind of experts in their gathering, and after that, the devotion of experts to their scholarly interpretation. Guppy saw that Manchester University was securing a place in the learned world, and that Mediæval History, under Tout's regime (to name only the honoured dead), was making Manchester a cynosure of Europe's academies. So Guppy set out to make the John Rylands a sort of provincial and special Record Office, bringing to it mediæval muniments to gratify a scholar's dream. When the major academic activities of the University and its facilities for research did not happen to reach into those other fields of learning already represented in the Library, Guppy himself planned a personnel to seek out and bring home whatever might extend the scholarly value of the nucleus already in Manchester. So Rendel Harris and Alphonse Mingana became voyaging Orientalists, searching for papyri and other manuscript relics which could illuminate the history of the Bible and the early stages of the Christian faith. This thrust to the East was impelled not only by thought of the Founders' religious purpose, but by the possession of the Crawford Oriental MSS. The system started, the method of growth by grouped acquisitions has spread widely. Again, the Crawford Napoleonic Proclamations are a typical example. Always, although Guppy has been willing to secure any particular volume for a lone student, he has

urged users of the Library to submit comprehensive lists of *desiderata*. In that way he has made the Library a resort of world-wide scholarship, and an almost self-contained museum for scholars.

But Guppy has never been satisfied merely to provide material for the learned. Like the Library's founder, he has been fervently alive to missionary and philanthropic motives. The Library is a world-renowned bibliophile's museum. But it is not only that. It has always been meant by Guppy to be an instrument of broad and democratic culture. Hence, from the early days, he has not only recruited seekers of books, but he has sought the co-operation of public expositors of them. He secured the part or full-time service of all kinds of experts who might make the contents of the Rylands rarities available to the world—cataloguers as distinguished as Montague James and Hunt, and expositors as alluring as Rendel Harris, Tout and Conway. Widening the social and geographical limits of this dissemination, he instituted the Rylands Lectures. Perhaps the idea of them in their present form first came from his own habit, in his early Manchester years, of gathering together in the Rylands or elsewhere groups of working men to bring before them (in the good Ruskin-Rowley-Victorian fashion) the riches on their doorstep. At the Lectures, now for some twenty years formally established, half a dozen times a year there come together a roomful of relatively local devotees of the particular branch of learning represented in the topic of that day's lecture. Again, to overcome the topographical restriction of a universal institution, Guppy planned and inaugurated the RYLANDS BULLETIN. In this, scholars throughout the world find papers on more or less abstruse matters to the knowledge of which the Rylands Library can add something from its storehouse. Even more missionary in spirit are the Exhibitions which Guppy arranges to let Lancashire see something of the world's heirlooms now housed in its midst. He has made the Library a dwelling-place of the scholarship which seeks to serve humanity by ministering not only to its intellectual but to its spiritual needs.

His own scholarship is wide, but appropriately it is chiefly bibliographical. He knows every swaddling-clout wrapping the

world's incunabula, talks of Gutenberg, Sweynheym and Pannartz as most Mancunians discuss Ranji and Trumper and Spooner ; and the Venetian press of Aldus or the Westminster shops of Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde he knows as intimately as we know the *Manchester Guardian* or the Calico Printers' Association. His professional and private proclivities have probably come nearest together in his surveys of translations of the Bible prior to the great Authorised Version — a congenial field for a bibliographical scholar and a professed nonconformist.

Naturally, Manchester has had first claim on Guppy's service. But, like his Library, Guppy is known in all parts of the world where books are revered. The *BULLETIN* goes over the seven seas ; and by a system of international exchange, largely instigated by Guppy, appropriate Rylands publications are regularly sent forth and bring corresponding items from the five continents.

Learning, that is, real learning, and not dictator nostrums, knows neither racial barriers nor political frontiers. In one signal way Guppy showed his appreciation of this cosmopolitanism of scholarship. It was Guppy who initiated and organised the collection, in England and America, of the books which went to restore the Library of Louvain, when the Vandals had made their first attack on it in the last war. His act was publicly recognised as a primary contribution to the restoration of civilisation in Europe. May he soon be planning other such re-establishments of wisdom and of culture !

But how inadequate is all this catalogue of traits, methods, and achievements, to give a real sense of the real Guppy. No one can feel that more despondently than do I—for, for thirty years, I have leaned on his science and his friendship. One can only repeat ; in Guppy, man and Librarian are of one piece, the genial sentiment of the man blends richly and humanely with the proper form of the Librarian. Perhaps the most symbolic of all occasions in which this unified duality shows itself is at a Governors' meeting. Necessary and formal business over, the Librarian reports across the table on whatever has seemed noteworthy in the last few weeks. He reads a letter of thanks from Tokio or California or Madrid from some scholar grateful for a reference or for a photostat. He mentions the offer of this

or that book or manuscript, or he reports a visit to such and such an estate where he has been given first choice from the library ; he draws attention to a recent sale where such and such a volume fetched £500 and then points to a book on the table, adding ' that is our copy, vastly more perfect than the one in the sale '. Or there may have been a distinguished visitor. One will never forget his account of King Fuad's amazement to discover a Koran more magnificent than even he had ever seen. It is at moments like these, the privilege of its Governors, that all who know the John Rylands Library may see and feel how much the Library is to Guppy and why Guppy has been so much to the Library.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF HENRY GUPPY, C.B.E.,

LIBRARIAN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, MANCHESTER, 1899-1940.

COMPILED BY THOMAS MURGATROYD,
ASSISTANT-SECRETARY IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

A. PUBLICATIONS CONNECTED WITH THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

- I. BULLETIN (1).
- II. DESCRIPTIONS OF THE LIBRARY (2-9).
- III. EXHIBITION CATALOGUES (10-31).
- IV. MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS (32-39).

I. BULLETIN.

1. Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. Edited by the Librarian (Henry Guppy). Volume 1 (—24), April, 1903—October, 1908 (—1940). [With plates.]

Manchester, 1903-08—1940. 24 vols., 4to and 8vo. *In progress.*

* * The first volume, the only one in quarto, consisted almost entirely of bibliographical lists of collections in the Library, and of other matters relating to the work of the Library, compiled, or edited by the Librarian. With volume two the character of the publication altered, articles by outside contributors forming the bulk of this and succeeding volumes; however, from time to time bibliographical lists were included, and from the commencement one notable feature, contributed wholly by the Librarian, has appeared in every number, "Library Notes (and News)." An asterisk prefixed to an entry denotes that the article has been reprinted, and appears also in its appropriate section in the list.

Vol. 1-24, 1903-08—1940.

Library notes (and news).

* * Items of special interest and certain obituary notices have been extracted and noted in their chronological sequence.

Vol. 1, 1903-08.

* A selection from the works bearing upon the study of Greek and Latin palæography and diplomatic in the John Rylands Library. Pp. 67-79.

In memoriam. Mrs. Enriqueta Augustina Rylands. Pp. 351-9.

List of periodical publications regularly taken by the Library. Pp. 453-68.

Vol. 2, 1914-15.

Stephen Joseph Tennant. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 21, 100.

List of current periodical publications, including transactions of learned societies in the John Rylands Library. Pp. 66-98.

Vols. 2-5, 1914-20.

* Steps towards the reconstitution (reconstruction) of the library of the University of Louvain. Vol. 2, pp. 145-54, 251-74, 380-420; Vol. 3, pp. 229-77, 408-42; Vol. 4, pp. 124-78; Vol. 5, pp. 1-28, 395-406, 504-14.

Vol. 4, 1917-18.

Professor James Hope Moulton. [Obituary notice. With portrait.] Pp. 1-4.

Vol. 5, 1918-20.

Sir George Watson Macalpine, J.P., LL.D. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 407-9.

William Carnelley. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 409-10.

Lord Cozens-Hardy. [Obituary notice.] P. 410.

Vol. 6, 1921-22.

* The John Rylands Library. A record of twenty-one years' work. 1900—January 1921. Pp. 11-68.

* Dante Alighieri. 1321-1921. An appreciation: in commemoration of the six-hundredth anniversary of the poet's death. [With 3 facsimiles.] Pp. 222-34.

The re-birth of the library of the University of Louvain. . . . Pp. 531-44.

Vol. 7, 1922-23.

Charles Edwyn Vaughan. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 169-71.

John Turner Marshall. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 297-8.

Thomas Thornhill Shann. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 298-9.

* A brief summary of the history of the "First-Folio" edition of Shakespeare's dramas (1623-1923). [With 5 facsimiles.] Pp. 457-79.

Vol. 8, 1924.

Sir Adolphus William Ward. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 302-6.

* Suggestions for the cataloguing of incunabula. Pp. 444-55.

* * Prepared at the request of the Cataloguing Committee of the Library Association.

Vol. 9, 1925.

The semi-jubilee of the John Rylands Library. Pp. 1-8.

Death of Bishop Casartelli. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 8-9.

* William Tindale and the earlier translators of the Bible into English. . . . In commemoration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the publication of Tindale's first New Testament, which was issued towards the end of 1525. [With portrait and 11 facsimiles.] Pp. 542-84.

Vol. 10, 1926.

* The reconstruction of the library of the University of Louvain: Great Britain's contribution. 1914-25. Pp. 223-67.

Vol. 11, 1927.

Quincentenary of the University of Louvain. Pp. 233-6.

Vol. 12, 1928.

Professor [C. H.] Herford's portrait presented to the University [of Manchester]. Pp. 2-7.

* Stepping stones to the art of typography. [With 13 facsimiles.] Pp. 83-121.

* * An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 10th February, 1927.

* John Bunyan. 1628—November 1928. A brief sketch of his life, times, and writings. [With a facsimile.] Pp. 122-33.

Vol. 13, 1929.

Professor H. W. C. Davis. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 2-3.

* The art of reading. Pp. 131-46.

* * The substance of an address to the Manchester District Library Fellowship in the John Rylands Library, on the 19th October, 1928.

Culture, commerce, and industry in Manchester. Pp. 147-51.

* * Reprinted with additions from the *Manchester Evening News*.

Alderman Henry Plummer. [Obituary notice.] P. 221.

William Henry Barker. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 225-6.

Professor John Nicol Farquhar. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 226-7.

Vol. 14, 1930.

Arthur Samuel Peake. [Obituary notice. With portrait.] Pp. 1-8.

Thomas Frederick Tout. [Obituary notice. With portrait.] Pp. 8-11.

John Goodier Haworth. [Obituary notice.] P. 12.

* Safeguarding manuscript sources of national and local history. Pp. 115-20.

* The genuineness of 'At-Tabari's Arabic "Apology," and of the Syriac document on the spread of Christianity in Central Asia in the John Rylands Library. Pp. 121-3.

Vol. 15, 1931.

Charles Harold Herford. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 281-3.

Canon J. M. Wilson. [Obituary notice.] P. 283.

Vol. 17, 1933.

Robert Mackintosh. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 179-80.

Vol. 18, 1934.

Robert Seymour Conway. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 1-3.

Vol. 19, 1935.

Gerard Nonus Ford. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 3-5.

William Ernest Blomfield. [Obituary notice.] P. 5.

Sir Ernest Wallis Budge. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 5-8.

Basil Champneys. [Architect of the John Rylands Library.] [Obituary notice.] Pp. 267-70.

* Miles Coverdale and the English Bible. 1488-1568. . . . In commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the publication of the first complete Bible to be printed in the English language, translated and edited by Miles Coverdale and finished on the 4th October, 1535. [With portrait and 4 facsimiles.] Pp. 300-328.

Vol. 20, 1936.

The earliest known fragment of the New Testament. Pp. 1-9.

Frederick James Powicke. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 18-19.

The earliest known MSS. of the Bible. Pp. 173-5.

Montague Rhodes James. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 184-6.

* Desiderius Erasmus. 1536—12th July—1936. [With portrait.] Pp. 245-57.

* William Tindale: scholar and martyr. 1536—6th October—1936. [With portrait.] Pp. 258-67.

Vol. 21, 1937.

* In memoriam. John Westall Marsden. [With portrait.] Pp. 1-3.

Bishop E. A. Knox. [Obituary notice.] P. 7.

* The University of Manchester. A retrospect and an appeal. Pp. 38-54.

Professor John Leofric Stocks. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 288-90.

Bishop J. E. C. Welldon. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 290-1.

Annie Elizabeth Fredericka Horniman. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 291-5.

Vol. 22, 1938.

Sir Evan Spicer. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 1-4.

Alphonse Mingana. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 4-6.

* The Royal "Injunctions" of 1538 and the "Great Bible," 1539-1541. [With 2 portraits and 6 facsimiles.] Pp. 31-71.

Professor Samuel Alexander, O.M., F.B.A. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 303-6.

Vol. 23, 1939.

Pope Pius XI. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 1-6.

A. Linney Arnold. [Obituary notice.] P. 355.

Sir Alfred Joseph Law, M.P., J.P. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 355-6.

Sir William Davy, J.P. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 356-7.

Vol. 24, 1940.

The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 1-7.

Sir Alfred Hopkinson. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 7-9.

Professor David Samuel Margoliouth. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 9-11.

Monseigneur Ladeuze, Recteur Magnificus of Louvain. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 11-12.

Mr. James Jones. [Assistant-Secretary of the John Rylands Library.] [Obituary notice.] Pp. 12-13.

The beginnings of the art of typography. Pp. 18-20.

Sir Joseph J. Thomson, O.M. [Obituary notice.] Pp. 183-5.

* The evolution of the art of printing. In commemoration of the five hundredth anniversary of the invention of the art of printing. [With 18 facsimiles.] Pp. 198-233.

* Twice-raped Louvain. Pp. 250-4. See also 101.

II. DESCRIPTIONS OF THE LIBRARY.

2. The John Rylands Library. Memorial of the inauguration, 6th October, 1899. Morning programme and brief description of the building. [By H. Guppy.]

[*London*, 1899.] 8vo, pp. 23.

3. The John Rylands Library Manchester: a brief description of the building and its contents, with a descriptive list of the works exhibited in the main library. [By H. Guppy.]

[*Manchester*,] 1902. 8vo, pp. 47.

* * There are two impressions of the above work, with, and without a frontispiece view of the main library.

4. The John Rylands Library Manchester: a brief historical description of the library and its contents, with catalogue of the selection of early printed Greek and Latin classics exhibited on the occasion of the visit of the Classical Association in October, MCMVI. [By H. Guppy.]

Manchester, 1906. 8vo, pp. 89.

* * Contains 6 views of different parts of the Library.

5. The John Rylands Library Manchester: a brief historical description of the library and its contents. [By H. Guppy.]

[*Manchester*,] 1907. 8vo, pp. 53.

* * Contains 6 views of different parts of the Library.

6. The John Rylands Library Manchester: a brief historical description of the library and its contents, with catalogue

of a selection of manuscripts and printed books exhibited on the occasion of the visit of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in October, MCMXII. With [21] illustrations. [By H. Guppy.]

Manchester, 1912. 8vo, pp. x, 143.

7. The John Rylands Library Manchester: a brief historical description of the library and its contents, illustrated with thirty-seven views and facsimiles. [By H. Guppy.]

Manchester, 1914. 8vo, pp. xv, 73.

8. The John Rylands Library Manchester: 1899-1924. A record of its history with brief descriptions of the building and its contents. Illustrated with sixty-two views and facsimiles. By . . . Henry Guppy . . .

Manchester, 1924. 8vo, pp. xviii, 144.

9. The John Rylands Library Manchester: 1899-1935. A brief record of its history with descriptions of the building and its contents. Illustrated with sixty views and facsimiles. By . . . Henry Guppy . . .

Manchester, 1935. 8vo, pp. xviii, 106.

III. EXHIBITION CATALOGUES.

10. Catalogue of the manuscripts books and bookbindings exhibited at the opening of the John Rylands Library Manchester October 6th 1899.

[*Manchester*, 1899.] 8vo, pp. 41.

11. The John Rylands Library Manchester. Catalogue of an exhibition of Bibles illustrating the history of the English versions from Wiclif to the present time, including the personal copies of Queen Elizabeth, General Gordon, and Elizabeth Fry. *Manchester*, 1904. 8vo, pp. 32.

12. — [Second revised edition.]
Manchester, 1904. 8vo, pp. 32.

13. — [Third revised edition.]
Manchester, 1904. 8vo, pp. 32.

14. The John Rylands Library Manchester. Catalogue of the manuscripts and printed books exhibited on the occasion of the visit of the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches . . . 7th March, 1905.

[*Manchester*, 1905.] 8vo, pp. 38.

15. The John Rylands Library Manchester. Catalogue of an exhibition of Bibles illustrating the history of the English versions from Wiclif to the present time, including the personal copies of Queen Elizabeth, Elizabeth Fry and others. [With 2 views of the Library.]

Manchester, 1907. 8vo, pp. vii, 55.

* * Prefatory note subscribed Henry Guppy.

16. The John Rylands Library Manchester : catalogue of the selection of books and broadsides illustrating the early history of printing. Exhibited on the occasion of the visit of the Federation of Master Printers and Allied Trades in June, MCMVII.

Manchester, 1907. 8vo, pp. v, 34.

* * Introductory note subscribed Henry Guppy.

17. The John Rylands Library Manchester : catalogue of an exhibition of illuminated manuscripts, principally Biblical and liturgical, exhibited on the occasion of the meeting of the Church Congress in October, MCMVIII. [With 2 views of the library.]

Manchester, 1908. 8vo, pp. vii, 62.

* * Prefatory note subscribed Henry Guppy.

Pp. 1-18. Introduction.

18. The John Rylands Library Manchester : catalogue of an exhibition of original editions of the principal works of John Milton, arranged in celebration of the tercentenary of his birth. . . . December 9th, 1908.

[*Manchester*, 1908.] 8vo, pp. 24.

19. The John Rylands Library Manchester : catalogue of an exhibition of the works of Dante Alighieri, shown in the main library from March to October, MCMIX.

Manchester, 1909. 8vo, pp. xii, 55.

* * Prefatory note subscribed Henry Guppy.

20. The John Rylands Library Manchester : catalogue of an exhibition of original editions of the principal English classics, shown in the main library from March to October, MCMX.

Manchester, 1910. 8vo, pp. xv, 64.

* * Prefatory note subscribed Henry Guppy.

21. — [Second edition.] (A selection of works for the study of English literature in the John Rylands Library.)

Manchester, 1910. 8vo, pp. xv, 85.

22. The John Rylands Library Manchester : catalogue of an exhibition of manuscript and printed copies of the Scriptures, illustrating the history of the transmission of the Bible, shown in the main library from March to December, MCMXI. Tercentenary of the "Authorised Version" of the English Bible. A.D. 1611-1911. [With a view of the library and 11 facsimiles.]

Manchester, 1911. 8vo, pp. xiv, 128.

* * Prefatory note subscribed Henry Guppy.

Pp. 1-35. A brief sketch of the history of the transmission of the Bible.

23. The John Rylands Library Manchester : catalogue of an exhibition of mediaeval manuscripts and jewelled book covers, shown in the main library from January XII to December MCMXII, including lists of palaeographical works and of historical periodicals in the John Rylands Library. [With 10 facsimiles.]

Manchester, 1912. 8vo, pp. xiii, 134.

* * Prefatory note subscribed Henry Guppy.

Pp. 1-20. Introduction.

24. The John Rylands Library Manchester : catalogue of an exhibition of the works of Shakespeare, his sources, and the

writings of his principal contemporaries. With an introductory sketch, and sixteen facsimiles. Tercentenary of the death of Shakespeare 1616 April 23 1916.

Manchester, 1916. 8vo, pp. xvi, 169.

* * Prefatory note subscribed Henry Guppy.

25. — Second edition.

Manchester, 1916. 8vo, pp. xvi, 169.

26. The John Rylands Library Manchester : catalogue of an exhibition of mediæval and other manuscripts and jewelled book-covers arranged in the main library. With introduction and [17] facsimiles. In commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of its inauguration 1899—October 6—1924.

Manchester, 1924. 8vo, pp. xi, 88.

27. The John Rylands Library Manchester : catalogue of an exhibition illustrating the history of the transmission of the Bible, with an introductory sketch by the Librarian. With twenty facsimiles. In commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the publication of William Tindale's first printed New Testament, 1525.

Manchester, 1925. 8vo, pp. xii, 133.

28. The John Rylands Library Manchester : catalogue of an exhibition of the earliest printed editions of the principal Greek and Latin classics and of a few manuscripts. With an introduction by the Librarian and [8] facsimiles.

Manchester, 1926. 8vo, pp. viii, 72.

29. The John Rylands Library Manchester : descriptive catalogue of an exhibition of printed book illustrations of the fifteenth century, arranged in the main library. With an introduction by the Librarian. Sixteen facsimiles.

Manchester, 1933. 8vo, pp. ix, 90.

30. The John Rylands Library Manchester : catalogue of an exhibition illustrating the history of the transmission of the

Bible, with an introductory sketch by the Librarian, and twenty-two facsimiles. In commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the publication of Coverdale's Bible, in October, 1935.

Manchester, 1935. 8vo, pp. xiii, 112.

31. The John Rylands Library Manchester : catalogue of a selection of mediæval manuscripts and jewelled book-covers exhibited in the main library, MCMXXXIX. With introduction and seventeen facsimiles.

Manchester, 1939. 8vo, pp. xi, 70.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS.

32. General prefatory note [by Henry Guppy, to the series of catalogues of the manuscripts in the John Rylands Library]. *Manchester*, 1909—*etc.* 15 vols. 8vo and 4to. *In progress.*

* * Almost all the catalogues, hand-lists, *etc.*, published by the library contain a prefatory or introductory note by the Librarian.

33. The John Rylands facsimiles. [Edited by H. Guppy.] *Manchester*, 1909—*etc.* 5 vols. 8vo and 4to. *In progress.*

1. *Propositio Johannis Russell* printed by William Caxton circa A.D. 1476. Reproduced in facsimile from the copy preserved in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.

With an introduction by Henry Guppy . . . —1909.

Introduction. Pp. 1-35 ; Facsimile [6 pages].

34. The John Rylands Library Manchester : an analytical catalogue of the contents of the two editions of "An English Garner," compiled by Edward Arber, 1877-97, and rearranged under the editorship of Thomas Seccombe, 1903-04. [Under revision.]

Manchester, 1909. 8vo, pp. vii, 221.

* * Printed on one side of the leaf only. Prefatory note subscribed Henry Guppy.

35. — [Revised issue.]

Manchester, 1909. 8vo, pp. vi, 221.

* * Printed on one side of the leaf only.

36. English incunabula in the John Rylands Library: a catalogue of books printed in England and of English books printed abroad between the years 1475 and 1500. With . . . sixteen facsimiles. [Edited, with an introduction by H. Guppy.] *Manchester*, 1930. 4to, pp. xv, 102.

37. The John Rylands Library Manchester. The rules and regulations under which the library is administered, the constitution of the various committees: their powers and duties, with lists of the trustees and governors, and other information. [Edited by H. Guppy.] [*Manchester*,] 1930. 8vo, pp. v, 36.

38. An unpublished fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library. Edited by C. H. Roberts. . . . With facsimile. *Manchester*, 1935. 4to, pp. 34.

* * Prefatory note subscribed Henry Guppy.

39. Publications of the John Rylands Library Manchester 1939. [A catalogue compiled by H. Guppy.] *Manchester*, 1939. 8vo, pp. 24.

* * An annotated list. Supersedes earlier lists of a similar nature.

B. INDEPENDENT WORKS, REPRINTS, ETC.

- I. SEPARATE WORKS AND EDITIONS (40-90).
- II. CONTRIBUTIONS TO PERIODICALS, ETC. (91-114).
- III. MANUSCRIPTS (115-117).

I. SEPARATE WORKS AND EDITIONS.

40. S. Paul's Cathedral Library. A catalogue of Bibles, rituals, and rare books; works relating to London and especially to S. Paul's Cathedral, including a large collection of Paul's Cross sermons; maps, plans, and views of London and of S. Paul's Cathedral. By W. Sparrow Simpson . . . *London*, 1893. 8vo, pp. xxii, 281.

* * Pp. 3-55, the portion of the catalogue treating of Bibles, rituals, and rare books was compiled by H. Guppy.

41. Bibliotheca Lindesiana. First revision.
Hand-list of proclamations . . . [Vols. 2-3. Compiled by
H. Guppy.]

Aberdeen, 1893-1901. 3 vols. Fol.

1. Henry VIII—Anne. 1509-1714.—1893.
2. George I—William IV. 1714-1837.—1897.
3. Victoria, 1837-1901.—1901.

42. A complete catalogue of the Sion College "Port Royal Library" . . . and of the collection of Port Royal portraits and other engravings . . . [Compiled by H. Guppy.]

Aberdeen, 1898. 8vo, pp. 39.

43. The cataloguing of anonymous literature. By the Editor [i.e. H. Guppy.] Reprinted from the Library Association record, June, 1901.

[*London*, 1901.] 8vo, pp. 16.

* * The title is taken from the wrapper.

44. On the difficulty of correct description of books. By Augustus De Morgan. With introduction by Henry Guppy. Reprinted from the Library Association record, June, 1902, for the members of the Bibliographical Society of Lancashire.

[*Manchester*, 1902.] 8vo, pp. 29.

45. Library Association. North Western Branch . . . Sixth meeting of the Summer School to be held in the John Rylands Library, Manchester . . . on June 17th, 18th and 19th, 1903. Synopsis of lectures.

Manchester, [1903]. 4to, pp. 16.

* * Contains "The evolution of books," by Henry Guppy . . . Pp. 4-12.

46. Works upon the study of Greek and Latin palæography and diplomatic in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. [Edited by H. Guppy.] Reprinted from the "Quarterly bulletin of the John Rylands Library," July-December, 1903.

[*Manchester*, 1903.] 4to, pp. 15.

47. John Rylands Library Manchester. Johann Gutenberg and the dawn of typography in Germany. Lecture by the Librarian October 14th, 1903. (Synopsis of lecture.—List of works exhibited . . . to illustrate the work of the first typographers in Germany . . .—A selection from the works in the John Rylands Library bearing upon the subject.)

[*Manchester*, 1903.] 8vo, pp. 15.

* * The title is taken from the wrapper.

48. The best English books in philosophy and religion published between January, 1903, and June, 1904. By Henry Guppy . . . Reprinted from the Library Association record 15th October, 1904.

[*London*, 1904.] 8vo, pp. 18.

* * The title is taken from the wrapper.

49. An address delivered at the Educational Committees' Association Conference, held at the John Rylands Library, Manchester, on April 28th, 1906. The public library: its history and its functions. By Henry Guppy . . .

Manchester, 1906. 8vo, pp. 27.

* * The title is taken from the cover.

50. City of Manchester Education Committee. Higher education. Municipal Evening School of Commerce. Special lectures for library assistants and others. Bibliography and library history, by Henry Guppy. Synopsis of lecture 1 (—25.)

. . .

[*Manchester*, 19—.] 15 pts. in 1 vol. 8vo.

* * The title is taken from the caption. Printed on one side of the leaf only. Frequently reprinted.

51. City of Manchester Education Committee. Special lectures for assistants in public libraries. Cataloguing and classification. By Henry Guppy. Synopsis of lectures 1, 2 and 3 (—13.) . . .

[*Manchester*, 19—.] 5 pts. in 1 vol. 8vo.

* * The title is taken from the caption. Printed on one side of the leaf only. Reprinted in the Library Association record, vols. 22-4, and separately.

52. City of Manchester Education Committee. Higher education. Municipal Evening School of Commerce. Special lectures for library assistants and others. Library administration. By Henry Guppy. Synopsis of lectures I and II (—31.) [*Manchester*, 19—.] 19 pts. in 1 vol. 8vo.

* * The title is taken from the caption. Printed on one side of the leaf only.
Frequently reprinted.

53. North-Western Co-operative Educational Committees' Association. The books of the middle ages and their makers. By Henry Guppy . . . An [elaboration of the] address delivered at the Educational Committees' Association's Conference, held at the John Rylands Library, Manchester, on March 7th, 1908.

[*Manchester*, 1908.] 8vo, pp. 36.

* * The title is taken from the cover.

54. A classified catalogue of the works on architecture and the allied arts in the principal libraries of Manchester and Salford with alphabetical author list and subject index. Edited for the Joint Architectural Committee of Manchester by Henry Guppy . . . and Guthrie Vine . . .

Manchester, 1909. 8vo, pp. xxv, 310.

55. Library Association. North-Western Branch. Thirteenth meeting of the Summer School to be held in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, May 4th, 5th, and 6th, 1910. Lecturers : Henry Guppy . . . [and others]. Synopsis of lectures.

[*Manchester*, 1910.] 8vo, pp. 39.

* * The three undermentioned are by H. Guppy :

Lecture I. "The Librarian's equipment." Pp. 3-5.

Lecture II. "What is bibliography?" Pp. 6-8.

Lecture III. "The evolution of books . . ." Pp. 8-32.

56. Library Association. North-Western Branch. . . . Fifteenth meeting of the Summer School to be held in the

John Rylands Library, Manchester, June 11th, 12th, 13th, 1913. Lecturers : Henry Guppy . . . [and others]. Synopsis of lectures.

[*Manchester*, 1913.] 8vo, ff. 44.

* * Printed on one side of the leaf only. The two undermentioned are by H. Guppy :

Lecture I. "The library and the librarian in relation to literature."
Ff. 3-7.

Lecture VI. "The stepping stones to, and the beginnings of the art of typography." Ff. 23-34.

57. Steps towards the reconstitution of the library of the University of Louvain. Reprinted from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," April, 1915.

[*Manchester*, 1915.] 8vo, pp. 7-16.

58. Steps towards the reconstruction of the Library of the University of Louvain. By Henry Guppy . . . Reprinted from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," July to September, 1915.

[*Manchester*, 1915.] 8vo, pp. 26.

59. A brief sketch of the life and times of Shakespeare, with chronological table of the principal events. By Henry Guppy . . . Reprinted from the "Catalogue of an exhibition of the works of Shakespeare . . . arranged in the John Rylands Library, in commemoration of the tercentenary of the death of Shakespeare." [With a facsimile.]

Manchester, 1916. 8vo, pp. 30.

60. The work of the public library during and after the war. By Henry Guppy . . . Reprinted from the Library Association record, July, 1917.

Aberdeen, 1917. 8vo, pp. 14.

* * The title is taken from the wrapper.

Inaugural address at the meeting of the North Central Library Association, at Bradford, 20th September, 1916.

61. Advance proof, under revision, of a review of the work of the library, which is to appear in the forthcoming issue of the "Bulletin" [Vol. 6, Nos. 1-2]. The John Rylands Library: a record of twenty-one years' work 1900—January—1921. [By Henry Guppy.]

[*Manchester*, 1921.] 8vo, pp. 11-68.

* * The title is taken from the wrapper.

62. The John Rylands Library Manchester: a brief record of twenty-one years' work, MCM January MCMXXI. Illustrated with forty-three views and facsimiles. By Henry Guppy

. . .

Manchester, 1921. 8vo, pp. xiv, 58.

63. Dante Alighieri, 1321-1921. An appreciation: in commemoration of the six-hundredth anniversary of the poet's death. By Henry Guppy . . . Reprinted from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," vol. 6, no. 3, July, 1921. [With 2 facsimiles.]

[*Manchester*,] 1921. 8vo, pp. 13.

* * The title is taken from the wrapper.

64. A brief summary of the history of the "First-Folio" edition of Shakespeare's dramas, 1623-1923. With five facsimiles. By Henry Guppy . . . In commemoration of the tercentenary of the publication of the "First Folio" 1623-1923. *Manchester*, 1923. 8vo, pp. 31.

* * Reprinted, with corrections, from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," vol. 7, no. 3, August, 1923.

65. Suggestions for the cataloguing of incunabula. Submitted by the Cataloguing Committee of the Library Association. [Compiled by H. Guppy.]

[*London*, 1924.] 8vo, ff. 13.

* * The title is taken from the wrapper. Printed on one side of the leaf only.

66. Suggestions for the cataloguing of incunabula. By Henry Guppy . . . Reprinted from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," vol. 8, no. 2, July, 1924.

[*Manchester*,] 1924. 8vo, pp. 12.

* * The title is taken from the wrapper. Prepared at the request of the Cataloguing Committee of the Library Association.

67. — Second edition, revised. (Rules for the cataloguing of incunabula . . .) [University and Research Section of the Library Association.]

London, 1932. 8vo, pp. 16.

* * The title is taken from the wrapper.

68. Wigan and county bibliographies: part of an address delivered on the occasion of the opening, on April 29th, of the exhibition of books printed in Lancashire before 1800, in the Central Library, Wigan, with the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, Chairman of the Wigan Public Library Committee, in the chair. By Henry Guppy . . .

[*London*,] 1925. 8vo, pp. 11.

* * Reprinted from the Library Association record, N.S. Vol. 3, 1925.

69. William Tindale, and the earlier translators of the Bible into English. With twelve facsimiles. By Henry Guppy . . . In commemoration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the publication of Tindale's first printed New Testament, 1525. Reprinted, with additions, from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," vol. 9, no. 2, July, 1925.

Manchester, 1925. 8vo, pp. 50.

70. The Library Association. Seventy-five years. Presidential address by Henry Guppy . . .

London, 1926. 4to, pp. 24.

* * Also in N.S. Vol. 4, 1926, of the Library Association record.

71. A brief sketch of the history of the transmission of the Bible down to the Revised English version of 1881-95. By Henry Guppy . . . With twenty facsimiles.

Manchester, 1926. 8vo, pp. vii, 75.

* * Reprinted from "The John Rylands Library, Manchester : catalogue of an exhibition illustrating the history of the transmission of the Bible" . . . 1925.

72. The reconstruction of the library of the University of Louvain : Great Britain's contribution 1914-1925. By Henry Guppy . . . Reprinted from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," vol. 10, no. 1, January, 1926.

Manchester, 1926. 8vo, pp. 49.

73. Stepping-stones to the art of typography. By Henry Guppy . . . With fourteen facsimiles. Reprinted from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," vol. 12, no. 1, January, 1928.

Manchester, 1928. 8vo, pp. 45.

* * An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 10th February, 1927.

74. John Bunyan, 1628—November—1928 : his life, times and writings. By Henry Guppy . . . Reprinted from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," vol. 12, no. 1, January, 1928. [With a facsimile.]

Manchester, 1928. 8vo, pp. 12.

* * The title is taken from the wrapper.

75. The art of reading. By Henry Guppy . . . Reprinted from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," vol. 13, no. 1, January, 1929.

Manchester, 1929. 8vo, pp. 18.

* * The substance of an address to the Manchester District Library Fellowship in the John Rylands Library, on the 19th October, 1928.

76. — *Reprinted in* : More books : the Bulletin of the Boston Public Library, Vol. IV, No. 10, December, 1929. Pp. 409-20.

77. — [Another edition.] [With foreword by W. L. Phelps. Introduction by C. F. D. Belden.] [With facsimile of bookplate of the author.]

Boston, 1930. 8vo, pp. 67.

78. Safeguarding manuscript sources of national and local history. By Henry Guppy . . . Reprinted from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," vol. 14, no. 1, January, 1930.

[*Manchester*, 1930.] 8vo, pp. 6.

* * The title is taken from the wrapper.

79. The genuineness of 'At-Tabari's Arabic "Apology" and the Syriac document on the spread of Christianity in Central Asia, in the John Rylands Library. By Henry Guppy . . . and A. Mingana . . . Reprinted from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," vol. 14, no. 1, January, 1930.

[*Manchester*, 1930.] 8vo, pp. 4.

* * The title is taken from the wrapper.

80. The National Federation of Fruit and Potato Trades Associations (Incorporated) Limited. Annual meeting and conference in Manchester, March 1931. Souvenir of visit to The John Rylands Library Manchester where the delegates will be addressed by the Librarian. (Henry Guppy . . .) A poem in stone [i.e., The John Rylands Library.] [Subscribed "Bibliothecarius."]

[*Manchester*, 1931.] 4to, pp. [4].

81. The French journals of Mrs. Thrale and Doctor Johnson. Edited from the original manuscripts in the John Rylands Library and in the British Museum with introduction and notes by Moses Tyson . . . and Henry Guppy . . .

Manchester, 1932. 8vo, pp. xi, 274.

* * Contains 2 portraits and 2 facsimiles.

82. British Records Association. The preservation of records of national and local history. By Henry Guppy . . . Reprinted from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," vol. 17, no. 1, January, 1933.

Aberdeen, 1933. 8vo, pp. 6.

* * The title is taken from the wrapper.

83. Miles Coverdale and the English Bible 1488-1568. By Henry Guppy . . . With five facsimiles. Reprinted from

the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," vol. 19, no. 2, July, 1935.

Manchester, 1935. 8vo, pp. 30.

* * In commemoration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the publication of the first complete Bible to be printed in the English language, translated and edited by Miles Coverdale and finished on the 4th October, 1535.

84. A brief sketch of the history of the transmission of the Bible down to the Revised English version of 1881-1895. By Henry Guppy . . . With twenty-two facsimiles.

Manchester, 1936. 8vo, pp. xi, 70.

* * Reprinted from "The John Rylands Library, Manchester: catalogue of an exhibition illustrating the history of the transmission of the Bible" . . . 1935.

85. Desiderius Erasmus 1536—12th July—1936. With portrait. By Henry Guppy . . . Reprinted from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," vol. 20, no. 2, July-August, 1936.

Manchester, 1936. 8vo, pp. 15.

* * In commemoration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the death of Erasmus.

86. William Tindale, scholar and martyr, 1536—6th October—1936. With portrait. By Henry Guppy . . . Reprinted from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," vol. 20, no. 2, July-August, 1936.

Manchester, 1936. 8vo, pp. 12.

87. John Westall Marsden, M.A., J.P. 1859-1936. In memoriam. [By Henry Guppy.] [With portrait.] Reprinted from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," vol. 21, no. 1, April, 1937, for private circulation.

[*Manchester*, 1937.] 8vo, pp. 3.

* * The title is taken from the wrapper.

88. The University of Manchester: a retrospect and an appeal. By Henry Guppy . . . Reprinted from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," vol. 21, no. 1, April, 1937.

Manchester, 1937. 8vo, pp. 17.

* * The title is taken from the wrapper.

89. The royal Injunctions of 1536 and 1538 and "The Great Bible" 1539 to 1541. By Henry Guppy . . . With eight facsimiles. Reprinted from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," vol. 22, no. 1, April, 1938.

Manchester, 1938. 8vo, pp. 43.

90. The evolution of the art of printing. In commemoration of the five-hundredth anniversary of the invention of the art of typography. By Henry Guppy . . . With eighteen facsimiles. Reprinted, with additions, from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," vol. 24, no. 2, October, 1940.

Manchester, 1940. 8vo, pp. 45.

II. CONTRIBUTIONS TO PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS AND TO COLLABORATED VOLUMES.

91. *To THE BIBLE IN THE WORLD.* (British and Foreign Bible Society.)

Oct., 1936.

William Tindale: scholar and martyr. By . . . Henry Guppy . . . Pp. 147-50.

92. *To BULLETIN OF THE AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.* Vol. 20, No. 10, 1926.

The power of personality. By Henry Guppy . . . Pp. 214-21.

93. *To THE BUXTON ADVERTISER.*

6 Oct., 1928.

Buxton's advance. To the Editor of the Buxton Advertiser. [Subscribed Henry Guppy. October 4th, 1928.]

94. *To THE HARVEST.*

1920.

What we owe to the monks of the middle ages. By . . . Henry Guppy. Pp. 83-5.

95. *To THE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION RECORD.*

The Library Association record: a monthly magazine of

librarianship and bibliography: edited (vol. 1-4) by Henry Guppy. The official organ of the Library Association.

London, 1899,—etc. 42 vols. 8vo and 4to. *In progress.*

* * In addition to the editorial work many of the bibliographical articles in the first four volumes were compiled wholly, or mainly, by the Editor; it has, however, not been found possible to indicate all these in detail. Unsigned contributions are indicated by [Anon]. An asterisk prefixed to an entry denotes that the article has been reprinted, and appears also in its appropriate section in the list.

Vol. 1, 1899.

The John Rylands Memorial Library Manchester. [Anon.] Pp. 564-71.

The opening of the John Rylands Library, Manchester. [Anon.] Pp. 679-88.

Vol. 2, 1900.

The Books of the ancients. (The alphabet.) [Anon.] Pp. 221-5, 265-9.

Manuscripts. [Anon.] Pp. 328-34, 385-91, 441-9; Vol. 3, pp. 109-14.

French fiction and French juvenile literature for the public library. Pp. 357-71.

* * A paper read at a meeting of the librarians of the Mersey District held at St. Helens.

Vol. 3, 1901.

Queen Victoria the Good. [Anon.] Pp. 65-9.

Manuscripts. *See supra* vol. 2.

* The cataloguing of anonymous literature. Pp. 298-313.

Vol. 4, 1902.

* On the difficulty of correct description of books. By Augustus De Morgan, with an introduction by the Editor. Pp. 247-73.

Analytical cataloguing for the reference library. Pp. 571-8.

* * Read at the annual meeting of the Library Association, Birmingham, 25th September, 1902.

Vol. 6, 1904.

* The best English books in philosophy and religion. Published between January, 1903, and June, 1904. Pp. 438-55.

Vol. 8, 1906.

Obituary. Edmond, John Philip. [Subscribed H.G.] Pp. 199-201.

Vol. 19, 1917.

* The work of the public library during and after the war.
Pp. 236-49.

* * Inaugural address at the meeting of the North Central Library Association, at Bradford, 20th September, 1916.

Vol. 21, 1919.

Report on the Second Summer School of Library Service held at . . . Aberystwyth, 29th July to 10th August, 1918.
. . . III. Cataloguing : Henry Guppy . . . Pp. 19-20.

Vols. 22-24, 1920-1922.

* Special lectures for library assistants and others. Cataloguing and classification. Pp. 19-21, 47-51, 71-4, 103-8 ; Vol. 23, pp. 238-41, 274-8, 410-13 ; Vol. 24, pp. 5-11, 120-4, 154-62.

N.S. Vol. III, 1925.

* Wigan and county bibliographies : part of an address delivered on the occasion of the opening, on April 29th, of the exhibition of books printed in Lancashire before 1800, in the Central Library, Wigan, with the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, Chairman of the Wigan Public Library Committee, in the chair. Pp. 94-102.

N.S. Vol. IV, 1926.

* Seventy-five years 1850-1925. Presidential address. By Henry Guppy . . . Pp. 193-213.

96. *To* MANCHESTER EVENING NEWS.

9 Oct., 1928.

What commerce owes to culture.

30 Nov., 1928.

What we all owe to John Bunyan.

2 Apr., 1929.

The wonderful power of personality.

20 Aug., 1929.

Professor Peake. Tribute to his memory . . . A great scholar.

25 Sept., 1929.

More new light on the Bible.

97. *To* THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

21 Jan., 1928.

Bunyan treasures in the Rylands Library.

* * Reprinted in the M.G. Weekly, 27 Jan., 1928.

13 Feb., 1928.

England's first printer : Caxtons in the Rylands Library.

4 July, 1928.

Louvain's new library.

2 Sept., 1929.

Abbot Islip's Chapel in Westminster Abbey.

9 Jan., 1931.

Persian art in Manchester. Exhibition of Rylands Library treasures.

1 June, 1931.

World's great libraries. I. British.

4 June, 1931.

World's great libraries. II. Foreign.

* * Both articles reprinted in Modern librarian (Library Association, Lahore). Vol. 2, pp. 104-6, 114. (1932.)

2 Jan., 1934.

The Bible. Original manuscript sources. The codices. Unique value of the Septuagint.

3 Jan., 1934.

The English Bible. Its literary history. Tindale's great achievement.

12 Jan., 1934, *and weekly thereafter*.

Treasures of the Rylands Library. [A series of eight short articles with a facsimile and description of some outstanding "treasure." Nos. 1-3, 5-8 are subscribed H.G.]

30 Jan., 1934.

The Sinai codex. Tischendorf, and the monks of St. Catherines. To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian. [A letter subscribed Henry Guppy.]

* * Reprinted in the M.G. Weekly, 2 Feb., 1934.

4 Oct., 1935.

First Bible in English. Miles Coverdale. The man and his work.

6 Oct., 1936.

Martyrdom of Tindale.

9 Oct., 1936.

Tindale and his Bible. M.G. Weekly.

18 June, 1938.

The Bible in English. Early history. Before the royal
"Injunctions." Cromwell and Cranmer.

12 March, 1940.

The late Lord Crawford. Further appreciation of his
public work.

98. *To* MANCHESTER LAW STUDENTS' CHRONICLE.

The oldest code of laws in the world [the code of Ham-
murabi]. [Subscribed Henry Guppy.]

99. *To* THE METHODIST RECORDER.

16 April, 1936.

Are the New Testament books genuine? The charter of
our Christian faith. How early Gospel writings survived.
By Henry Guppy . . .

16 June, 1938. (Supplement.)

The beginnings of the English Bible and its influence on
national history. By Henry Guppy . . .

100. *To* NOTES AND QUERIES.

11 S. X, Sept. 19, 1914. "Almanach de Gotha." P. 237.

11 S. XI, Jan. 9, 1915. Mourning letter-paper and black-
bordered title pages. P. 34.

12 S. II, Aug. 26, 1916. Henriette Renan. P. 176.

101. *To* THE SPECTATOR.

31 May, 1940.

Twice-raped Louvain. By . . . Henry Guppy. Pp. 745-6.

— *Reprinted as* : A four-page leaflet by the Ministry
of Information, American Division, for distribution in the
United States.

— *Reprinted in* the "Bulletin," Vol. 24, pp. 250-4.

— *Reprinted* . . .

Manchester, 1940. 8vo, pp. 5.

102. *To* SUNDAY SCHOOL CHRONICLE.

12 Feb., 1920.

The Bible and its influence on other books. By H. Guppy

. . .

* * Notes of a lecture to the Lancashire Association at the John Rylands Library, Manchester, by . . . H. Guppy.

103. *To* THE TIMES.

7 Apr., 1931.

Libraries of the nation. A lead from Italy. To the Editor of the Times. [Subscribed Henry Guppy.]

104. *To* THE DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY.

Second supplement, January 1901—December 1911 . . .

Vol. I. Copinger, Walter Arthur, 1847-1910. [Subscribed H.G.] Pp. 413-14.

105. *To* THE HANDBOOK OF THE WESLEYAN METHODIST CONFERENCE, MANCHESTER. July 13th to 26th 1912 . . .*Manchester*, [1912]. 8vo.

Pp. 36-41. Manchester a centre of commerce and of culture. Pp. 42-52. The John Rylands Library. [With 3 views of the Library and a facsimile.] [Both subscribed Henry Guppy.]

106. *To* THE HANDBOOK OF THIRTEENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF BROTHERHOODS AND KINDRED SOCIETIES. Manchester, September 14th to 18th, 1912.*[Manchester*, 1912.] 8vo.

Pp. 32-48. Manchester past and present. [With 17 illustrations.] By Henry Guppy . . . Pp. 67-74. Chester and the Dee. [By H. Guppy.]

107. *To* MANCHESTER IN 1915 being the handbook for the eighty-fifth meeting of the British Association . . . 1915. Edited by H. M. McKechnie.*Manchester*, 1915. 8vo.

Pp. 60-3. The John Rylands Library. [Subscribed H.G.]

108. *To* NATIONAL SPECIAL SCHOOLS UNION. Eighth Biennial Conference. Handbook and Souvenir. Manchester, Oct. 26th, 27th, and 28th, 1916 . . .

[*Manchester*, 1916.] 8vo.

Pp. 90-4. The John Rylands Library. [With a view of the Library.] [Subscribed H.G.]

109. *To* MANCHESTER: the city of industry and commerce. The official guide published under the authority of the Corporation.

Manchester, 1929. 8vo.

Pp. 72-3. John Rylands Library, Deansgate. [With 2 views of the library.] By Henry Guppy . . .

110. *To* THE SOUL OF MANCHESTER. Edited by W. H. Brindley . . .

Manchester, 1929. 8vo.

Pp. 113-25. How commerce has assisted culture through the John Rylands Library. [With a view of the exterior of the library.] By Henry Guppy . . .

— *Reprinted* . . .

[*Manchester*,] 1929. 8vo, pp. 113-25.

* * The title is taken from the cover.

111. *To* THE BOOK OF MANCHESTER AND SALFORD, written for the ninety-seventh annual meeting of the British Medical Association in July, 1929.

Manchester, [1929]. 8vo.

Pp. 233-7. The John Rylands Library. [With a view of the Library and a facsimile.] By Henry Guppy . . .

112. *To* THE SERVANT OF YAHWEH . . . Three lectures . . . By A. S. Peake . . .

Manchester, 1931. 8vo.

Pp. ix-xix. In memoriam. Arthur Samuel Peake. 1865-1929. [Subscribed Henry Guppy.]

113. *To THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF ENGLAND AND WALES.* Handbook for delegates. Centenary assembly held in the city of Manchester October 5th-9th, 1931.

Manchester, [1931]. 8vo.

Pp. 21-5. Manchester: a centre of commerce and of culture. By . . . H. Guppy . . .

114. *To NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HEAD TEACHERS.* Conference souvenir. Buxton.

London, 1934. 8vo.

Pp. 118-25. Schools and libraries, by Henry Guppy . . .

III. MANUSCRIPTS.

115. Some thoughts on Shakespeare as the poet of nature and of human nature. [A lecture read to the Buxton Literary Society. By H. Guppy.]

* * In MS. 4to, ff. 14. *Prepared for the press.*

116. Birmingham Summer School of Librarianship, Tuesday, October 21/34. [An inaugural lecture on the public library movement. By H. Guppy.]

* * In MS. 4to, ff. 39. *Prepared for the press.*

117. The romance of Sumeria. [A lecture read to the Manchester and District Library Fellowship, c. 1929. By H. Guppy.]

* * In MS. 4to, ff. 10. *Prepared for the press.*

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THE FIRST FORTY YEARS OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

By MOSES TYSON,

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THE John Rylands Library was formally opened on 6th October, 1899. Now in little over forty years it fills a high place among the great libraries of the world. The history of its development during the first thirty-five years has been written by its Librarian, and no other pen could adequately undertake the task. It is fitting, however, that in a special volume of the BULLETIN, compiled in honour of Dr. Guppy, some outline of this astonishing period of development should be found and the opportunity taken to pay tribute to one whose genius, scholarship and unflagging devotion have provided the main impetus.

The founder of the Library was the late Enriqueta Augustina Rylands, widow of John Rylands, who wished to perpetuate the name of her husband and happily elected to do this in a way that reflected the main non-mercantile interests of his life. John Rylands came from St. Helens and together with his father and elder brothers, established the firm of Rylands and Sons with headquarters at Wigan. He was a vigorous and far-sighted business man, with all the qualities of a first-class organiser and administrator, and in days when hard sustained labour and long hours were demanded, an employer who did not spare himself, but worked the hardest and for the longest hours. His efforts built up the enormous business concern which still bears his name, and he left to his widow a great fortune. John Rylands' life was quiet and simple; he avoided the spectacular, and shrank from taking up any position in public affairs; but he none the less contributed greatly to the well-being of his adopted



EXTERIOR VIEW OF THE LIBRARY.

city. A considerable sum of the money behind the Manchester Ship Canal project was his, and his gifts to charity, although unheralded, were large and numerous. Orphanages, homes for the aged and for poor ministers were founded and maintained by him, and to him Stretford owed a Town Hall, baths, a library and other foundations. A decoration by the King of Italy marked generous gifts to the poor of Rome. His many business undertakings far from entirely absorbed him, and probably the chief interest of his life was the study of the Bible, of which special editions by competent scholars were prepared and freely distributed at his expense. He was also behind the extensive free distributions of other religious works and was helpful and generous in encouraging and assisting poorer Free Church ministers, and students of theology.

John Rylands died in December, 1888, and his wife shortly afterwards resolved to found a great library likely to benefit those in whom her husband had been particularly interested. This library was originally intended to be primarily concerned with theological studies, although it was also to include the more important collections of standard authorities in all departments of literature. It speaks highly for Mrs. Rylands' breadth of outlook that from the first she was determined there should be no "index expurgatorius" to exclude books proclaiming theological views opposed to her own.

The actual building was begun in 1890 and was designed by Mr. Basil Champneys. The work went forward slowly, and it was nearly ten years before the building was ready for occupation ; ten years of exacting and loving care on the part of Mrs. Rylands, who was determined that the best, and the best only, was worthy of her project. It is not necessary to dwell on the appearance of the building, which takes the form of a College library in the late Gothic style. It has been fully described by Dr. Guppy in his RECORD of its history, and it is sufficient to say that the most skilled labour and the finest materials were drawn upon, and that the building ranks as one of the most magnificent examples of modern Gothic architecture to be found in Europe. In no obscure corner is the standard of workmanship lowered. The elaborateness of decoration and the perfection of the internal

fittings, whether from the hand of stonemason, sculptor, metal-worker or woodcarver, compel admiration and make the building a fitting home for the many matchless treasures gathered beneath its roof.

During the early years the collection of books for the Library was pursued with equal care and discrimination. Mrs. Rylands was a woman of wide culture and many interests, and happily had gifted advisers to guide her with great wisdom in her work. It is probable that much was owed to the Reverend Dr. Fairbairn, Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, who later delivered the inaugural address. The Reverend Dr. Green, a friend of John Rylands, also took a lively interest in the work, and his son, Mr. Arnold Green, appears to have been the principal agent in buying books during the first few years. Many of the invoices for books bought at this time survive, and the gradual building up of the collections can easily be traced. Theology bulked largely, but no branch of the Arts was neglected. Collected works of recognised authorities in all fields of literature, general historical writings, the principal County Histories, were all acquired at this time. Nor were rare books wanting. Looking through these invoices we find the First and Fourth Folios of Shakespeare, the first edition of Shakespeare's *Poems*, first editions of Milton's *Lycidas*, *Comus*, *Paradise Lost*, a fine example of the *Biblia Pauperum*, from the Borghese sale at Rome, a manuscript copy of the Koran, and numerous other noteworthy volumes, listed with the works which form the backbone of any great public library, and others to be found in most of the great private collections. Numerous volumes dealing with the history of Art, the bird books of Audubon, Gould, Bewick and others, magnificently illustrated volumes, examples of the master binders, find their place among famous early printed Bibles and great masses of carefully selected theological, philosophical, literary and historical works.

An event which took place in the summer of 1892 caught the attention of scholars throughout the world, filled the headlines of the world's press, and determined the future course of development of the Library on lines far surpassing the original concept of a place of study for the student of theology. Mrs.



THE MAIN STAIRCASE.

Rylands bought the "Althorp Library", long recognised as the most famous private collection of books in existence, from Earl Spencer. This library consisted of over 40,000 volumes, mostly gathered together during the latter part of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by the second Earl, for some forty years one of the foremost book collectors of his age. The second Earl had inherited from his predecessors a library formed by Dr. George, Master of Eton, containing about 5000 volumes, many of them collections of the smaller Elizabethan "tracts" or "miscellanea". In 1790 he added to these by the purchase of the library of Count Reviczky, a Hungarian nobleman, educated at Vienna. The Reviczky collection consisted primarily of select editions of the Greek and Latin classics, and the productions of the presses of Aldus, Stephanus, Morel and Turnebus, besides many other choice editions. From that time onwards Lord Spencer did not cease to search for additions to his collection. He was never satisfied with imperfect copies and from time to time replaced such copies by the finest examples he was able to secure. In 1813 he bought the library of Mr. Stanesby Alchorne containing examples from the presses of William Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde. The Earl's librarian from 1802 was Dr. Thomas Frognall Dibdin, and both he and Dibdin were constant attenders at the great book sales of the day. In 1819 Lord Spencer made a tour of the Continent and acquired the complete library of the Duke of Cassano-Serra, with its many volumes from the presses of Naples and Sicily. One of his great *coups* was to persuade the King of Würtemberg to make an exchange of books by which two editions of Vergil, the second edition printed in Rome by Sweynheym and Pannartz in 1471, and an undated edition printed at Venice about the same time, and probably by the printer Adam of Ammergau, were added to his collection.

Dibdin, with his vast wealth of bibliographical knowledge, found in the book sales of the period all the excitements of a mediæval tournament, and took an unfailing delight in the growth of the Spencer collection. He published many works dealing with this collection, and in his other books, filled with erudite and curious knowledge, time and again he rejoiced to chronicle

how the doughty lance of the Earl had borne off some distinguished trophy from the fray. It was Dibdin who inaugurated the famous Roxburghe Club, after the great competition in 1812 between the Marquis of Blandford and Earl Spencer for the first edition of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, printed by Valdarfer in 1471. In this contest Earl Spencer was worsted, the prize falling to his rival for the then almost unbelievable sum of £2260; but later this famous Boccaccio was to find its way into the Althorp Library, and finally to the John Rylands Library.

It is impossible to do more than mention a few of the more important features of the Althorp collection. With some later additions the Rylands Library now possesses no fewer than 62 examples of Caxton's printing alone (of which 36 are perfect, and several are the only known copies still existing), and more than 3000 volumes printed before the year 1501. The London printers, Wynkyn de Worde, Lettou, Machlinia, Pynson, Julian Notary, and the schoolmaster printer of St. Albans are all represented among the productions of English presses. Other countries are equally well covered. Beginning with the famous block-print of "St. Christopher", bearing an inscription and the date 1423, and including no fewer than 15 block books, 9 of which are usually assigned to the period before 1450, the Library contains an almost unmatched collection of examples of early printing. There are the "36-line" and "42-line" Latin bibles popularly known as the "Pfister or Bamberg Bible" and the "Mazarin Bible", and with them the first three Mainz Psalters. Fifty volumes are associated with the printers Gutenberg, Fust and Schoeffer, some being the only recorded copies. No fewer than 219 German printers of the fifteenth century are represented. Splendid volumes from Italian presses also are found on its shelves. Every one of the fifty works printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz at Subiaco and Rome, and listed in their 1472 catalogue, are there with the exception of the "Donatus" of which no surviving fragment is recorded, and of the Aristotle of 1473. Besides the numerous incunabula the Althorp books brought to the Rylands an unsurpassable collection of works from the Aldine press, containing more than 800 volumes, many printed on vellum. Largely owing to the Spencer collection

also is the impressive array of Bibles which fills the Bible room of the Library. Eighty-five editions of the Latin Vulgate printed before the close of the fifteenth century are included.

Lord Spencer had also been interested in the art of book-binding, so that the Library possesses many beautiful examples of that art from the fifteenth century onwards, including productions of such artists as Clovis and Nicolas Eve, Le Gascon, Boyet, the two Deromes, the Padeloups, Geoffrey Tory, Bozerian, Thouvenin, Mearne and Roger Payne.

By the end of 1892 Mrs. Rylands had gathered together for her new foundation a formidable collection of volumes which already ensured that the Library would be of first-rate importance to the specialists in the fields of early printing, the Classics, Theology, History and Philosophy, while the student of literature was provided with a storehouse including not merely the great classics but also many rare works of all periods.

It might have been expected that the purchase of the Althorp collection would have resulted in a temporary slackening in the Library's development, but this was very far from happening. Mrs. Rylands and her agents, particularly Mr. Green, still haunted the salerooms and bookshops of the country and acquired many splendid volumes, while many of the more distinguished bookbinders were kept busily employed, and the coats of arms of families in a number of the large County Histories were being brilliantly emblazoned. A great bibliographical and palæographical section was also being rapidly built up.

In the immense task of selecting books, Mrs. Rylands called in the assistance of leading authorities who provided lists of essential works in various subjects. To-day the Rylands Library has in its periodicals room a wide range of Literary, Fine Arts, Historical, Natural Science, Philological, Philosophical, Sociological and Theological periodicals in many languages. It was in these early years following 1892 that the foundation of this great periodical section was firmly laid by the acquisition of numerous sets of periodical publications.

There was one field in which it appeared that the new Library could not attain equal prominence, namely in respect of manuscript materials. There were about 100 manuscripts in

Earl Spencer's library and these were gradually added to by purchases at the great book sales of the 'nineties. A great number of autograph letters and documents dating from the mediæval period and covering the fields of History and Literature were bought in 1891 at the sale of the collection made by the late Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D., of Liverpool. The Ashburnham sale in 1897 supplied a collection of late fourteenth and early fifteenth century Wycliffite MSS.; in the Library there are now fifteen examples of Wycliffite translations. The early sales of the collection of manuscripts made by Sir Thomas Phillipps provided other historical and literary manuscript additions. During these years Mrs. Rylands had the assistance of a very distinguished bibliographer in the late Mr. Edward Gordon Duff who was busily engaged in the work of examining and cataloguing.

The new building was opened in October, 1899, by the Reverend Dr. Fairbairn, and the opening was marked by the attendance of a distinguished gathering of people from all parts of Europe and America. The City of Manchester acknowledged its gratitude to Mrs. Rylands for a gift rivalling those made by the mediæval merchant princes to the great cities of Italy, by bestowing upon her the freedom of the city, and on the following day Earl Spencer, Chancellor of the University of Manchester, conferred upon her the degree of Doctor of Letters *honoris causa*.

Several months earlier, in June, Mr. Henry Guppy had been appointed joint librarian with Mr. Gordon Duff. Mr. Duff resigned in the following year, and from 1900 onwards Mr. Guppy remained in complete control of the new foundation. The Librarian always speaks enthusiastically of the help given by the Governors in the vast developments which have taken place since that date, but the Governors themselves would probably be first to admit that since the death of the generous foundress in 1908, the formative work of the Library has been mainly due to Guppy alone.

Several momentous events in the Library's history had taken place between the opening and the end of 1908. The first of these was the acquisition by Mrs. Rylands in 1901 of the "Crawford MSS.", part of the "Bibliotheca Lindesiana" formed

largely by the 24th Earl of Crawford and his successors. That great library still retained about 100,000 volumes of printed books, but 6000 manuscripts passed into the possession of Mrs. Rylands. General descriptions of these manuscripts have been given by Dr. Guppy, and printed detailed catalogues of many sections compiled by leading manuscript scholars have already appeared. Both Eastern and Western MSS. are widely represented. The oriental section includes works in all the following languages : Amharic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Sanskrit, Pali, Bali, Panjabi, Hindustani, Marathi, Parsi, Pehlevi, Burmese, Canarese, Cingalese, Tamil, Chinese, Japanese, Malay, Javanese, Achinese, Mongolian, Tibetan, Mo-so, Batak, Bugi, Kawi, Madurese, Makassar and Pushtu. In Arabic, Persian and Turkish there are more than 2000 manuscripts in all branches of science and literature. Many are the work of skilled calligraphers, and contain distinguished examples of the illuminator's art. Three books are written throughout in letters of gold, and others would add distinction to any collection. Not all the MSS. have been fully explored, but already discoveries of great importance in the fields of Theology, History and Literature have been made. The collection of Arabic papyri is large and important ; other papyri are in Hieroglyphic, Demotic, Coptic and Greek. Among other Greek MSS. is a large part of one of the earliest surviving vellum books, a codex of the "Odyssey" written in the late third or early fourth century of our era.

The 25th Earl and his agents assiduously searched the Near and Far East while building up this oriental collection. There are about 8000 pên or native volumes in the Chinese section, many belonging originally to the Chinese library of Pierre Leopold van Alstein, bought by Lord Crawford in 1863. Fifteen hundred drawings and paintings of Chinese, Indian and Persian origin, drawn on silk, rice paper, leaves and other materials, date mainly from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are also about 1000 Japanese pên. Many manuscripts are the only surviving examples.

The Western MSS. are perhaps of even greater interest. There are manuscripts in English, French, German, Irish, Italian, Spanish, and other languages, but although some of these

sections contain very beautiful and important volumes, the main strength of the collection, as might be expected, is in the Latin books. Dr. Montague Rhodes James completed the first part of the catalogue of Latin MSS. in the John Rylands Library in 1920. Of the most important of these a large proportion came with the Crawford collection. They date from a sixth-century papyrus roll written at Ravenna. Many were written for, or belonged to, royal owners and were produced at the famous mediæval schools of writing. A few examples may be given. From Italy came six volumes of a magnificently illuminated sixteenth-century Missal, formerly in the Sciarra-Colonna library at Rome. Mr. J. W. Bradley suggested that the very best work in the earlier volumes of this Missal was by the artist Giulio Clovio, and that other work was by Appolonio dei Buonfratelli. From France came a Homiliary, written at Luxeuil in the late eighth or ninth century; an exceptionally beautiful early thirteenth-century Bible, probably written in Picardy; and an exquisitely illuminated thirteenth-century Psalter, once belonging to Jeanne de Navarre, Queen of Henry IV of England. Among the manuscripts of German origin are included a copy of the Gospels, written and illuminated for one of the Ottos in the tenth century, and volumes from Altenburg and Bremen. A manuscript of the works of St. Cyprian, written in several hands at Murbach, dates from the eighth century. A Lectionary was written by an Abbot of Prüm between 1036 and 1063. An early ninth-century Psalter from St. Maximin of Treves, was purchased by Lord Crawford from the Bollandist Fathers at Brussels. Spain is well represented by four remarkable volumes, and among works written in England the outstanding volume is a Missal, the earliest example of the Sarum rite known to survive, having a number of excellent full-page pictures boldly drawn and finely coloured in a characteristic English style of the thirteenth century. With the Latin MSS. are thirty jewelled and ivory book covers, a collection surpassed by two others only in the libraries of the world.

After securing the Crawford collection Mrs. Rylands did not cease to look for further additions. All sections of the Library were strengthened, sometimes gradually, at other times by



THE MAIN LIBRARY.

collections bought *en bloc*, as, for example, the 6000 volumes of Dante literature, gathered together by Count Passerini, and added in 1906. Of the "Divina Commedia" there are several manuscripts and many incunabula, including the three earliest editions printed in 1472 at Foligno, Jesi and Mantua.

At the same time Mrs. Rylands was building up a private library at Longford Hall. After her death these volumes also came to the John Rylands Library, and included many fine books on Art, productions of special presses, "grangerised" or extra-illustrated works, and a number of manuscripts. Several of the manuscripts were "Books of Hours", one a beautiful Paris book believed to have been executed for Charles VII. In addition to bequeathing these books Mrs. Rylands completed her task by generously endowing the new foundation, and by making provision for its future development.

By the end of 1908 the Rylands Library was already one of the world's great libraries. Its incunabula and rare books, its thousands of volumes with historic and literary associations, its beautifully illuminated manuscripts, and its many fine examples of book covers and of the bookbinder's art, placed it among the great Museums. But it was far more than a Museum.

A library to keep alive has to be continually expanding, or, if its numbers must be kept down, must be subjected to constant pruning, *ephemera* or out-of-date texts being replaced by better or later works. The Rylands Library, however, consists of works concerned mainly with the Arts, very widely defined, and Theology. The work of selection has been thoroughly carried out, and little ephemeral material has found a place on its shelves. Standard collections of authors, select editions, works of criticism, usually have a permanent value, so the Library grows in size and, incidentally, the need for further book accommodation is a constant source of anxiety to the governing body. This anxiety was only temporarily allayed by the purchase in 1909 and 1911 of further sites next to the building, and by the completion in 1921 of a new section with additional book storage and rooms for the administrative staff.

During the last thirty years the development has been controlled with a threefold aim: to fill in gaps in those subjects in

which the Library is strongest, equipping it for advanced research by specialists in certain fields of study ; to build up a first-class working library for serious students, with special attention to foreign works and leading English and foreign periodicals and society publications ; and to encourage the interest of the general public by means of lectures and exhibitions. Additions have been made for working purposes rather than for their exhibition value. None the less the carrying out of this policy has brought in its train many historic books and documents.

Apart from his distinction as a bibliographer, the great qualities of the Librarian have been shown, first, by his success in persuading scholars of repute to assist in the work of cataloguing the Library's treasures ; secondly, by his quick grasp of new developments in many branches of learning—in this he has been greatly assisted by the many distinguished professors who from time to time have served on the governing body ; and thirdly, by the interest in the Library which he constantly inspires, an interest which has resulted in many splendid gifts and bequests.

In 1918 Dr. Guppy persuaded his old friend, Dr. Rendel Harris, to accept the post of Keeper of Manuscripts, an office which he held till 1925. The world-wide reputation of Rendel Harris need not be stressed here, it is sufficient to say that even before his appointment his relations with Dr. Guppy had resulted in the acquisition by the Library of manuscripts and documents discovered by him in the course of several voyages of exploration in the Near East. One of these manuscripts, turned out in sorting a mass of weather-stained and water-stained documents from the East, was the famous Syriac MS. of the Odes of Solomon, a copy of a lost book of hymns used by the early Christians, since edited by Dr. Harris and Dr. Mingana.

From other manuscripts found by Dr. Harris, and not yet fully explored, a number of discoveries of first-rate importance have already been made. In 1916 the Reverend James Hope Moulton, Greenwood Professor of Hellenistic Greek and Indo-European Philology at Manchester, went to India hoping to meet Harris, who was on the way to Ceylon. The ship carrying Harris was torpedoed in the Mediterranean and he stayed in Egypt. Afterwards he joined Professor Moulton at Port

Said when on his way home. Their ship was torpedoed and one tragic loss was the death of Moulton after several days' exposure in an open boat. While Harris was in Egypt he continued his search for manuscript materials and acquired a number of papyri, some of which later came to the Rylands Library. When Mr. C. H. Roberts of Oxford, who is continuing the work begun by the late Dr. Hunt and others in cataloguing the Greek papyri in the John Rylands Library, was dealing with these fragments he found among them an envelope containing two pieces of cartonnage, the papyrus wrapping used for mummies. When this cartonnage was separated it was found to consist of fragments of at least four separate columns of a roll of the Book of Deuteronomy, fragments of a roll containing Book I of the *Iliad*, and other early pieces. The fragments of Deuteronomy, according to Mr. Roberts, are earlier by some 300 years than any other manuscript of any part of the Bible, being part of a manuscript written in the second century B.C.

When Dr. Guppy obtained the assistance of Drs. Grenfell and Hunt in cataloguing the Greek papyri, he enlisted the help of the foremost scholars of the day in papyrological studies. Their explorations had largely supplied the Crawford collection of papyri, which became part of the Rylands Library. From Dr. Grenfell the Library also secured a group of papyrus found in Egypt in 1920. It was while examining this collection that Mr. Roberts discovered fragments of several literary texts, and in particular a fragment of the Gospel of St. John. The latter fragment is very small, but appears to date from the first half of the second century and is the earliest known fragment of the New Testament. It also provides evidence that this manuscript of the Gospel of St. John was written in book form, and not on a roll as was usually the case with literature of that period.

One of the Rylands Keepers of Manuscripts was the late Dr. Alphonse Mingana, who catalogued the Arabic manuscripts, and did much work on the Syriac manuscripts. Mingana, like Harris, made several exploratory journeys in the East searching for manuscripts. Most of his discoveries were made on behalf of Mr. Cadbury and are in the Selly Oak Library at Birmingham. A very considerable collection, however, was acquired for the

Rylands Library, including a number of works of great importance.

The Demotic papyri in the Library were catalogued by Mr. F. Ll. Griffiths, the Coptic MSS. by Mr. W. E. Crum, and the Arabic papyri by the late Professor Margoliouth. An important collection of Samaritan MSS. has lately been catalogued by Professor Edward Robertson of the University of Manchester.

A collection of Sumerian, Babylonian and Assyrian tablets, dating as far back as 3000 B.C., was acquired largely owing to the assistance of the late Professor H. W. Hogg, Canon C. H. W. Johns and the Reverend C. L. Bedale. Mr. Bedale described a number of the Umma tablets for a Library publication between 1901 and 1905, and after his death 600 of these tablets were presented to the Library by his widow. A catalogue of the Sumerian tablets from Drehem and Umma was prepared by Dr. T. Fish in 1932. Professor Hogg's collection of Hebrew, Sumerian, Babylonian and other oriental literature was later bought from Mrs. Hogg.

It will be realised that all these efforts to make accessible manuscript materials, while indirectly resulting in the Library securing new materials, have brought about a wide extension of the bibliographical and palæographical sections, and have pointed the way to further lines of development.

The close relationship maintained by the Librarian with many scholars at the University, some of them Governors of the Library, has had equally surprising and satisfactory results. It was undoubtedly the Librarian's familiarity with the studies of Professor Tout, which led to a number of noteworthy purchases. Such was the purchase of a number of Wardrobe and Household Expense Books of Edward I and Edward III of England, Queen Philippa of Hainault, Queen Joan of Navarre, Queen Catherine of Aragon and others, and a treasury account book of Charles VI of France. These belonged to Major Heneage of Coker Court, near Yeovil. Two members of the Heneage family—Thomas Heneage, a vice-chamberlain of the household of Queen Elizabeth, and a treasurer of the Queen's chamber, and Michael his brother—had been Keepers of the Records in the Tower.

The same inspiration probably resulted in the purchase of

a volume written at the latest in the early years of King John. It contains a collection of English laws from the time of Ine, the West Saxon king, to that of Henry I, and provides, to quote that distinguished scholar, the late Dr. Liebermann, who greeted the discovery with enthusiasm, "the earliest text not only of the whole collection *Leges Anglorum*, but also of two most important documents embodied in it, viz., of *Leges Henrici I*, and of Henry I's London charter in the form which mentions for the first time the London *ward-imot*". This manuscript was discovered in a well-known London bookshop in 1909 by Dr. Guppy, who captured the prize without hesitation. An article by Liebermann, describing this volume, appeared in the *English Historical Review* in October, 1913. He had discovered fragments of the collection in volumes written in 1210 and 1230, but knew of no manuscript with the whole collection earlier than 1310. Years earlier, however, in 1894, he had come to the following conclusions: someone, evidently a Londoner, had compiled during the reign of King John a large law book by joining together in narrative form, by means of genealogical and historical notes concerning the various kings, selections of laws and ordinances; and this compiler, indulging a desire to glorify London as the head of a "Pan-Britannic" empire, had not hesitated occasionally to stoop to forgery. Liebermann had attempted, from the late manuscripts known to him, to reconstruct this collection by cutting out what he considered were interpolations. In this contemporary manuscript in the Rylands Library he had the satisfaction of verifying the correctness of his earlier deductions, the brilliance of which had filled with admiration the late Professors Maitland and Tout.

The same happy collaboration may be traced in the acquisition of a Register of documents of the time of Edward III, containing copies of treaties, alliances, agreements and the like, concerning this and other countries of Europe between 1330 and 1360; and also in the addition of numerous monastic cartularies, chronicles and other manuscript volumes—many from the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, and of thousands of charters. Among the numerous monastic houses represented are St. Mary's Abbey, York, Bredon, Byland, Evesham, Fountains, Meaux,

Rievaulx, Stavelot, Tockwith, Toilethorpe, Wardon and Whalley. With a large volume of a fifteenth-century Fountains Abbey cartulary, covering the letters Q to W, was acquired a considerable number of manuscripts gathered together by Scipio Squire, a vice-chamberlain of the Treasury of the Exchequer under James I and Charles I.

When Mr. John Ramsay Bryce Muir held the Chair of Modern History in the University, he was busily engaged on the history of India. Both he and many of his students profited by the large collection of books on India which Dr. Guppy built up. This has constantly been increased, as is also a large and growing group of manuscript letters and documents on Indian affairs.

Dr. A. S. Peake, Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis, was for many years a Governor and keenly interested in the sections dealing with his particular subjects. Professor Herford, in the field of English Literature and Italian studies, Professor Conway with his vivid enthusiasm for the Classics, Professor Samuel Alexander, and many others of their colleagues and successors, have all contributed of their wisdom and helped to make the Rylands Library rank high as a place of learning. Thousands of scholars from all parts of the world have pursued their studies in its quiet alcoves, and generations of undergraduates have benefited not only in their work but from surroundings bringing home to them the dignity of books and the recognition of that humility—hall-mark of the true scholar and worthy citizen of the world—which comes with the realisation both of the immense achievements of the past, and of the small part played by the best or the worst of us upon the vast scene of the Universe. Here, too, many of them have thrilled to the adventure of seeking to discover some hidden truth, happy in the knowledge that while byeways, gay with glittering temptations, might draw them from the path, they would at least find no barriers raised by intolerances of creeds or by the fear-ridden arrogance of Ignorance, posturing behind the mask of Tyranny or other ephemeral power.

The fame of its collections, and not least the services so gladly offered by its Librarian and all members of its staff, have brought the Library many friends and many gifts.

The late Earl of Crawford was for many years one of the Trustees, and to him much was owed. He helped to signalise the twenty-fifth anniversary of the opening by a splendid gift of over 20,000 proclamations, bulletins and broadsides. The majority of these belong to the period of the French Revolution and to the Napoleonic regime, throwing light on activities throughout the length and breadth of Europe. There is a set of the "Bulletin de la Convention Nationale" between 1792 and 1795, and some 5000 laws and decrees of the National Assembly between 1790 and 1795. Smaller groups of proclamations relate to France between 1532 and 1871, the Netherlands from 1584 to 1842, Tuscany from 1548 to 1793, the Venetian Republic from 1668 to 1797, the Neapolitan Revolution of 1848-49, and Spain between 1716 and 1843. Shortly afterwards the Governors supplemented this gift by the purchase from Messrs. Quaritch of some 5000 volumes, also originally at Haigh Hall. Many of these deal with the French Revolution, and they include a great number of the rare and short-lived journals of that time. They help to make up a rich store of material for the historian of the period.

Medical men figure prominently among the book collectors of our age. Two such collectors, Dr. Lloyd Roberts and Dr. Thomas Windsor, spent many hours discussing bibliographical and other matters in the Librarian's room, and both bequeathed considerable libraries to the John Rylands Library. The Lloyd Roberts bequest of some 5000 books included many from well-known collections, such as those of Grolier and Maioli. There are hundreds of examples of the craftsmanship of great modern binders, Trautz-Bauzonnet, David, Marius Michel, Chambolle-Duru, Bedford, Rivière, Cobden Sanderson, Prideaux, Zaehnsdorf and a host of others.

Dr. Thomas Windsor left the Library over 20,000 volumes of general and bibliographical literature, including many rarities. The most recent bequest, of 900 volumes, was also by a medical man, the late Dr. Larmuth of Ambleside.

Among the long list of other gifts and bequests are 500 volumes of Huguenot works from the Reverend D. A. de Moulpied; 300 volumes, mainly on Roman law, from

Mrs. Emmott in memory of her husband, Professor Emmott of Liverpool ; 150 volumes of historical and topographical works from Mr. George Hankinson of Altrincham ; a large collection of books and pamphlets concerned with the Anti-Slavery movement, from the executors of the late Mr. H. G. Wilson, M.P. for Sheffield ; 3500 books, including 2000 Bibles and many incunabula, and 30 manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, from Mrs. Hartland of Chepstow ; a collection of manuscripts and letters to Mrs. Gaskell from Dickens, Thackeray, Landor and other celebrated contemporaries, also an autograph collection made by Mrs. Gaskell, from the executors of the late Miss M. E. Gaskell ; and many manuscripts and papers from the late Mr. W. Duncombe Pink, of Leigh, mainly collected material for a projected Dictionary of Members of Parliament.

The average annual rate of increase to the Library, books and periodicals, is close on 10,000 volumes. This number consists for the most part of separate works and continuations, but is kept up by such gifts as those already mentioned, and also by occasional large purchases. Of the latter, a few deserve special mention. They include about 1000 volumes of Wesleyan literature ; about 900 volumes of occult literature ; a fine collection of some 1200 volumes and tracts of English poets and writers of the eighteenth century, formerly in the Portico Library, Manchester ; 800 volumes of grammars, dictionaries and other works relating to Italian dialects, from a Leicester bookseller ; a large collection of materials relating to Dr. Samuel Johnson and his circle ; and the Samuel Oldknow papers.

Among the Spencer books the Library acquired a copy of the fourth edition of Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*, on a fly-leaf of which was the note : " This book containing some MS. corrections in the Author's Handwriting was left by him to Sir Joshua Reynolds, from whom it was inherited by his niece, the Marchioness of Thomond, who gave it to George John, Earl Spencer ". In 1932 the Library's association with Dr. Johnson was strengthened by the purchase from a descendant of Sir John Salusbury Piozzi Salusbury, adopted son of Mrs. Piozzi, better remembered as Dr. Johnson's Mrs. Thrale,

of over 3000 manuscript letters and documents. Hester Lynch Salusbury, later wife of Henry Thrale, the Southwark brewer, and after her second marriage, Mrs. Piozzi, had a weakness for preserving letters and other documents. One of the results of this practice is the collection now in the Rylands Library, with its many letters to and from Johnson and Mrs. Thrale, and letters and other manuscripts by or relating to Boswell, Baret, Fanny Burney, Elizabeth Montagu, Arthur Murphy, and many other members of the Johnsonian circle. Some of this material has already been published or discussed in the pages of the *BULLETIN* and elsewhere.

The Oldknow papers are of a very different character. About 1920 a boy scout, distributing eighteenth-century weavers' pay tickets to passers-by, attracted the attention of Mr. Arthur Hulme, a pupil of the late Professor Unwin. Investigation showed that on the upper floor of a ruined mill at Mellor, in Cheshire, were masses of letters, papers, account books and business documents of all kinds. They were the papers of Samuel Oldknow, born in 1756, and one of the outstanding figures in the history of the early cotton industry. To quote Professor Unwin, in *Samuel Oldknow and the Arkwrights*, "the documents afforded a unique illustration both of the final phase of the 'domestic industry' and of the earliest phase of the factory system".

The Oldknow papers call to mind another function fulfilled by the John Rylands Library, namely that of a centre of material for the study of local and county history. Thousands of charters and deeds, ranging from the early Middle Ages, have gradually been acquired. They include many English and foreign documents from the Philipps Library; the Beaumont Charters—many of which were originally in the possession of a well-known Norman scholar, the Abbé de la Rue; the papers of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State to Charles I and Charles II; Medici Records from the eleventh century onwards, formerly in the possession of the Marquis Cosimo and the Marquis Averardo de Medici, and numerous English documents, many relating to Lancashire and Cheshire. In 1924 the Library was recognised by the Master of the Rolls as a repository for manorial deeds and

documents of historic importance relating to Lancashire and Cheshire. Since this recognition many other charters have been purchased or received as gifts, but great numbers have also been deposited in the Library for an indefinite period and may be used by students. The first large collection deposited on these terms came in 1921 from Sir Harry Mainwaring, Bart., late of Peover Hall, Cheshire. There have been Mainwarings at Peover since Norman times, and the Mainwaring collection contains state papers, diaries, literary MSS., and household books, as well as numerous charters, some granted by Earls of Chester in the twelfth century.

Another family, the Jodrells, have been in Cheshire since the fourteenth century, and the Jodrell manuscripts and papers also have been entrusted to the Library by Colonel and Mrs. Ramsden-Jodrell of Taxal, Whaley Bridge. Among many other collections received under the same conditions are the Tatton papers, belonging to Mr. Robert Henry Grenville Tatton of Wythenshawe, and relating to Tattons, Massies, and other local families from mediæval times onwards. The Clowes papers, relating to Manchester and the immediate neighbourhood, contain many documents and letters concerning members of the Chetham family. Four hundred rolls (1311-1733) and forty bulky folio volumes (1733-1825), compose the court records of the manors of Chatburn, Worston and Pendleton, Accrington (Old and New), Tottington, Ightenhill (including Pendle), Colne and Trawden, and have been entrusted to the care of the Library by the Lords of the Honor of Clitheroe. Much of the material is now catalogued and available through the efforts of Dr. Robert Fawtier, former Keeper of Western MSS., and Dr. Frank Taylor, the present Keeper.

The foregoing brief account of the growth of a great institution conveys little of the achievement, romance and adventure which have led to this gathering together of hundreds of thousands of books. No one can be more aware of its inadequacies than the compiler. It tells little that is new; little, indeed, which has not been written, with much greater felicity, by Dr. Guppy himself. But if, incidentally, it has succeeded in conveying something of what is owing to the devotion and efforts of that

great man, this scanty outline has accomplished its object. It ought not to be concluded without some reference to the work of the permanent staff. The cataloguing of many of the manuscript collections has already been mentioned; the main work of a library is the everyday cataloguing of its printed books. Already in 1895 a short title author catalogue of books bought for the Library and printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of books in English printed abroad, to the end of the year 1640, had been prepared by Mr. Gordon Duff and was already published. In 1899 a brief title author catalogue of printed books, including those in the Althorp collection, with short descriptions of the few manuscripts then in the Library, appeared in three volumes. Ten years later Mr. Guppy and the sub-Librarian, Mr. Guthrie Vine, produced a classified catalogue of the works in Architecture and the allied arts in the three principal libraries of Manchester and Salford. In 1930 what the Librarian described as a piece of staff team work, resulted in a fully detailed catalogue of the English incunabula in the Library, the initial slips being prepared by Mr. S. O. Moffet (now Librarian of University College, Cardiff), Mr. W. W. Roberts, and Miss M. Woodcock, under the supervision of Mr. Guthrie Vine. Mr. T. Murgatroyd compiled a list, printed in 1932, of the numerous current periodical publications and transactions of learned societies in the Library. Other projects are well advanced, but the most impressive pieces of cataloguing work are the vast author and subject slip catalogues, with their detailed descriptions and full cross-references. These slip catalogues have been systematically built up, under Mr. Vine's direction, by the members of the staff already mentioned, Mr. Peacock, Miss A. B. Rankin, Mr. R. Hall and others. From the photographic studio the excellent work of Mr. Hall and Mr. L. Whittaker has resulted in scholars all over the world being supplied with photographs and photostats of rare books and manuscripts. Past and present members of the staff have contributed considerably to the numerous and important collection of the Library's publications, and to the BULLETIN. The rapid expansion marked by all these undertakings is forcibly brought home when it is realised that Mr. Julian Peacock, known to

many for his profound genealogical knowledge, is still actively cataloguing after a period of service reaching back to 1903, before which time he was with Lord Crawford at Haigh Hall: that until last year the Library had as its assistant-secretary, the late Mr. James Jones, whose connexion with Mrs. Rylands and the firm of John Rylands dates back to pre-Library days: and that the present caretaker, Mr. Thomas Fleet, helped in the erection of the building.

The John Rylands Library, like most institutions, has its war-time problems and changes. Many of its treasures are now suffering what is hoped will be brief exile in a place of comparative safety. Dr. Guppy, who played so great a part in helping in the building up of a new Louvain Library to replace the one so wantonly destroyed by the Germans in 1914, has seen that tragedy repeated. His own Library runs a constant risk from the explosives and incendiaries of the same reckless enemy. Much damage may be done, but it may yet be that the splendid gesture made by the widow of a Lancashire business man will be remembered with gratitude in a more enlightened, if distant, age, when exploits of would-be world rulers appear but lurid padding in the history of human progress.

TESTAMENTUM BIBLIOTECARII.

By SIR FREDERIC G. KENYON,

SOMETIME DIRECTOR AND PRINCIPAL LIBRARIAN OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

WHEN a plusquam-septuagenarian librarian offers his tribute of congratulation and respect to a tantum-non-octogenarian brother of the trade, the tone of his remarks can hardly be other than reminiscential. He belongs to the past. The problems of the future are for the initiative of the young, who neither desire nor need the admonitions of their seniors. But the seniors may be permitted to meditate on their experiences, and to hope that in their generation they have helped to hand on the torch which they received, and which others will now carry forward.

I cannot claim to have been a librarian in so complete a sense as Dr. Guppy. He has spent more than forty years in the administration of a great library, comprising both printed books and manuscripts, Western and Oriental. My service was of much the same total duration, but half of it was spent wholly among Western manuscripts, and my connexion with printed books was rather that of general responsibility than executive administration. I have heard about printed books, and have even read them, but I am an outsider in the presence of the real printed-book man. Consequently I am under no delusion as to the value of meditations which I should never have thought of committing to paper if I had not been invited to join in the tribute which librarians and students alike owe to Dr. Guppy. They merely give my own conclusions on certain topics often discussed among librarians, without pretending to discuss them exhaustively.

These meditations crystallise round three particular points : the librarian's duties ; the librarian's virtues ; and the idols which especially beset him.

The first duty of a librarian is plainly to preserve books. But at once the question presents itself, What books? Is he to collect or to select? Most librarians have no option in this respect. Their means are limited and they must select, each according to the circumstances in which he is placed. But is there a place also for the omni-comprehensive library, which takes practically everything it can get? No one can deny that the British Museum, or the Bibliothèque Nationale, or the Library of Congress, and perhaps even the John Rylands Library itself, contains a vast deal of rubbish. Nor can it be denied that with the growth of human loquacity the problem of accommodation becomes increasingly serious. Quousque tandem? Can even the few national libraries maintain the effort to be omnivorous? Probably not; and certainly not, if a misguided nationalism places difficulties in the way of free acquisition. Yet so far as it is possible, I believe there is a case for comprehensiveness in a few libraries. The judgement of every age on its own output is notoriously unsound. Some books escape notice, like Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyam*; some are misjudged, like Keats' *Endymion*; some only acquire value because of their author's later works, like Shelley's early romances; some are eliminated as superfluous, like the Bodleian First Folio of Shakespeare. Many, for which the use will always be slight, are still occasionally valuable, and supply just that which a searching student needs. So let there be a few places where the seeker may hope to find anything that has been written on his subject. Let the few libraries that can preserve all that they can for as long as they can.

"As long as they can"; ay, there's the rub. The fate of Ashburnham House, of Turin and Tokyo, in the past reminds one of the dangers which beset libraries from the forces of nature; Louvain and the grim perils now threatening every home of cultural interests in London warn us that the treasures of civilisation are not safe from the calculated outrages of dehumanised man. Wordsworth's dream of the Arab

hurrying o'er the illimitable waste,
With the fleet waters of a drowning world
In chase of him,

in order that he may save the treasures of science and poetry,

The consecrated works of Bard and Sage,
Sensuous or intellectual, wrought by men,
Twin labourers and heirs of the same hopes,

seems to take on a terrible reality. Wholesale destruction is not so remote a danger as once it seemed ; and the multiplication of cities of refuge is to be encouraged rather than deprecated. Let the librarian therefore acquire all that he can, and store all that he can find room for ; for no one can say how great the need for it may become.

But preservation is only the first of a librarian's duties. It is useless to hoard books, unless they are made accessible. Here the ideal surely is that the use of books should be, so far as is consistent with their preservation, "in widest commonalty spread". Unique books, and books of special value, must no doubt be guarded by special precautions and restricted access ; and there is much to be said for refusing, or closely limiting, loans from the few great libraries to which scholars may come with the sure expectation of finding that the book they want is there, and not absent on loan ; but in general a free interchange of loans is eminently desirable. Of all the library activities with which I have been concerned, I think the most valuable was the Departmental Committee on Public Libraries, which converted the library service of the country from a number of isolated and mutually exclusive units to a real national service freely intercommunicating and mutually supporting, grouped around a few Regional Libraries, and with the National Central Library co-ordinating the whole and assisting it with a strong bibliographical apparatus. With the entire goodwill and active support of librarians throughout the country, the old parochial conception, whereby each locality confined its services to its own ratepayers, was swept away, and the object of each library became to do, not as little as it need, but as much as it could, to enable every student, wherever he might live, to obtain the books of which he might be in need ; at the same time assuring, so far as is possible, that every book is utilised as fully as possible, instead of mouldering unemployed on the shelves of a somnolent library.

The crucial problem of accessibility was for many years the admission of the public to the open shelves of the book-stores of public libraries ; and a great advance in the utility of libraries was achieved when the victory of open access became assured. In small and moderate-sized libraries, or in specialist libraries used by specialists, there is every advantage in allowing and encouraging the student to forage for himself and choose his own books. If a reader knows exactly what book he wants, he will save time by asking the librarian, who can lay hands on it at once ; but if he does not, he will profit by looking for himself among the books which deal with his subject. This implies the classification of books on the shelves according to their subjects, on which head something more will be said later. But, as with most good things, there is danger of excess as well as of defect in this matter of open access. In a very large library it may become a snare and a delusion. A very large library will contain a large number of books of very little value on any given subject, and the student will merely waste his time if he tries to wade through all of them for himself. He will do much better to be guided by the recognised bibliographies of his subject, and be led by the references which he finds in one book to others which may be of value to him. It is not too much to say that the larger the library, the less valuable is the privilege of open access. If the reader knows what book he wants, he may as well save his time by letting the library assistant fetch it while he goes on with his work ; and if he does not, he will waste his time, and perhaps be led astray up by-paths, if he sets out to hunt for himself. Of the further pitfalls set by the idol of classification, something will be said presently.

A further duty incumbent on the librarian who is willing to develop to the full the possibilities and opportunities of his position is that of promoting the utility of the books under his charge by advice and guidance to the reader. This service is open to every librarian, from the least to the greatest. Advice will be sought, if he is known to be willing to give it and competent to advise wisely. It may range from the recommendation of a novel to a worker who needs healthy mental recreation to the indication of the best authority on a recondite subject of study.

It may, and often does, include the organisation of lectures, or the provision of books for local Adult Education classes, or the arrangement of temporary exhibitions to illustrate some topic of public interest, or to stimulate interest in some branch of knowledge. The librarian should be a live wire in the intellectual life of his community, and at the same time should be at the service of each individual client who needs help in his own studies or guidance in intellectual refreshment. There is no end to the utility of a librarian, if his public will make proper use of him ; but too often he has to begin by persuading the public that he has wares to offer them which are of value to them. In this sphere of life, supply has generally to precede demand, and to go out into the highways and hedges to create the demand. This is a need which has been earlier and more widely recognised in America, where active librarians have not been slow to advertise their wares and to fill their shop windows ; but in England also of recent years many librarians have been alive to these possibilities of well-doing.

To fulfil these duties, and to rise to the level of these opportunities, the librarian needs a somewhat formidable array of virtues. And if a librarian-emeritus attempts a catalogue of them, it is hoped that it will be charitably recognised that he makes no claim to have possessed them. At the end of life it is failures that teach one the ideal, perhaps even more than successes. The most obvious of these virtues, in view of what has been said in the preceding paragraph, is knowledge—knowledge the most various and comprehensive, of any degree up to omniscience. There is no subject so obscure, so recondite, or so trivial that he may not be asked a question about it ; and since it is not possible for mortal man to know everything, the next best thing is to know where the necessary information is to be found. The most widely informed librarian of my acquaintance was Richard Garnett, who was in his element as Superintendent of the Reading Room at the British Museum from 1875 to 1890. There were few subjects on which he could not give an inquirer precise information or a definite reference to a source from which it could be obtained. Solomon's acquaintance with " trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon even unto the

hyssop that springeth out of the wall," and "of beasts and of fowl and of creeping things and of fishes," only covers a portion of his range. He displayed unexpected knowledge of most diverse subjects, from horse-racing (he was a Yorkshireman) to astrology (or are these perhaps not diverse, but kindred manifestations of speculative credulity?), and he lavished his time in responding to even the most unjustifiable importunities of readers. Ordinary mortals could not expect to attain to his standard; but his ideal (with certain reservations as to the encouragement of unjustifiable importunities) may be held up before librarians in general.

To attain even to an approximation to it, the cultivation of a diversity of interests is essential; for help can be given far more effectively if the librarian feels a real interest in the inquirer's pursuits. There is much to be said on either side of the controversy between the dissipation and concentration of study. The great advances in knowledge are commonly made by those who concentrate on a particular subject and devote their whole lives to it. Some minds, moreover, are so constituted as to be able to interest themselves only in a particular subject. To urge a diversity of interests on them is to do them a disservice and to impair their power of serving their generation. But equally there are others, and a much larger number, who have no aptitude for specialist research, and who will live fuller lives and be more valuable members of society if they spread their tentacles as widely as possible, absorb knowledge (even superficially) of many subjects, and take a genuine interest in the studies of others. They may not advance knowledge much themselves, but they help others to advance knowledge, and they can disseminate and popularise the knowledge which the specialists have achieved. They have not the satisfaction of knowing that they have advanced the boundaries of man's mastery over his surroundings, but they are enriched by the enjoyment of the wonders of nature and the achievements of the human mind, while their intelligent contact with various forms of human activity enables them to do service to their own generation no less valuable than that of the specialist.

For the librarian, at any rate, there is no doubt that a dis-

cursive mind is more useful than one that is narrowly concentrated. His profession allows him no time for the continuous application to a single subject which is essential for the specialist. He is interrupted at every turn, and is required to switch his attention at a moment's notice to a new subject. Therefore he is fortunate if he can do this not grudgingly or of necessity, but with a genuine interest in each topic as it presents itself. Only a widely receptive mind has stores that it can distribute to others.

The moral basis of both the capacity and the willingness to help others in their several pursuits is Sympathy; and this I am inclined to rate as the first virtue of a librarian. It is not merely a willingness to suffer fools gladly, which is by no means always a virtue, though sometimes a necessity. A librarian with a large clientele is brought into contact with many vagaries of the human mind. The Baco-Shakespearean, the Anglo-Israelite, the adept of the Great Pyramid, and the believer in cipher clues to the Treasure of David are only a few of the most persistent of these, who are never long without presenting themselves. Then there is nothing to be done but to endure. Argument is useless, for the devotee is impervious to reasoning. There are certain trains of argument, to the conclusions of which can only be appended the pithy saying of Euclid, "Which is absurd"; but the courteous librarian is precluded from resorting to this. But sympathy is quite different from patience. It is the capacity of entering into the mind of another, of being able to see interest where he sees it, and thereby of being able to co-operate genuinely in the search which he has in hand. This is a quality of inestimable value for a librarian or a museum director, who has to deal with many minds and many interests. It is a gift of nature, which cannot be cultivated, and it is a characteristic of the type of mind which is discursive rather than concentrated. One who has not this gift can train himself to be patient, to be willing to learn, and to try to understand; but he is not so fortunate as the man to whom it comes easily to be interested in a new subject, who is quick to appreciate its points, and whose interest, even though it rests on superficial knowledge, is at any rate genuine so far as it goes and so long as it lasts.

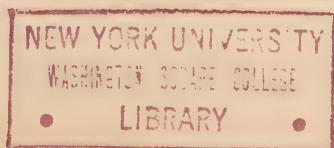
But where in this catalogue of virtues does the technical equipment of the librarian come? It is unquestionably necessary, and it is a mistake to disparage it. Technical knowledge is in fact the accumulated experience of past generations. Previous librarians have tried and discussed various methods of placing, of displaying, of classifying, and of cataloguing books, and it is absurd for a newcomer to ignore the results at which they have arrived, and to begin all over again by himself. That is the justification for schools of librarianship, with their courses of instruction, their examinations and their diplomas. These are most necessary for those whose service will begin in libraries with small staffs. In a large library the newcomer can learn his business from his senior colleagues as he goes along, and in the selection of new entrants it is more important to secure the right intellectual and moral qualifications than to insist on technical knowledge. But in the small libraries the senior staff has not the time to train the juniors in technical duties, though their influence and inspiration may be of the first importance; and the actual work of the library is not on a scale sufficient to give them the necessary experience. Therefore it is eminently desirable that new admissions to the library service should be made through the recognised channels of library education: though even here a selection committee would do well to pay more attention to intellectual and moral qualifications, and to allow some deficiency in technical equipment to be made up by subsequent participation in correspondence classes and summer schools.

The fact is that in librarianship, as in war, the maxim of Napoleon holds good, that the moral is to the material as three to one. You cannot make war without weapons, but the weapons cannot be used effectively unless they are intelligently handled and supported by moral resolution and character. So is it with librarianship. Skill in handling the technical tools is essential; but if a man (or woman) has the necessary intellectual qualifications he *can* acquire this skill at any time, and if he has the necessary moral qualifications he *will* do so: whereas a man may have a complete knowledge of the technique of classification and cataloguing, and yet be quite unfitted for the higher work of a librarian. Therefore it is no disparagement of technical

knowledge to say that it is not in itself a sufficient qualification for the administration of a great library. It is said that Nelson was not particularly skilful in the handling of a ship ; but it would have been lamentable if he had therefore been passed over for appointment as an admiral. Technical knowledge is good ; but it is not all, nor is it the thing most needful.

In no respect are what I have called the moral qualifications of a librarian more necessary than in the handling of subordinates. This is a delicate subject, on which little need be said, for the principles are obvious, though the practice may be difficult. Consideration for subordinates is not only an obvious moral duty, it is also the best way of securing good work. A commanding officer who flies into a passion and intemperately rates those who are under his authority, except for very serious failures, not only abuses his position but will not get the best work from them. Fear is not really a good stimulus. Nor does consideration mean slackness, or the condonation of neglect of duty. The best teachers in school that I have known, and the best trainers of soldiers, have been those who set a high standard, but who operated by encouragement rather than by censure. If a willing subordinate is encouraged when he does well, he will try to do better ; and the slacker is more likely to be moved by emulation or by shame than by reprimand, which he may hope to evade by concealment. If any group of men, whether it be the staff of a library, or a ship's company, or a regiment in an army, is led to believe that it has a high reputation for efficiency, the keen and generous spirits will be stimulated to maintain this reputation, and the less zealous will be shamed into effort ; it is only for the dishonest and the deliberate shirker that strong words and disciplinary action are required.

So much, then, of the virtues of the librarian. What of his vices ? Every trade or calling has its own besetting sins, in Baconian language, its own idols or false gods which it mistakenly worships. They are not, as a rule, wholly false, but the perversion or exaggeration of worthy and respectable ideals. Vices, in the Aristotelian classification, are the excesses or defects of virtues. What, then, are the excesses or defects, or what the particular idols, characteristic of librarianship ?



The first, I think, are the *Idola Libri*. The raw material of a librarian's trade consists of books, and he is in danger of exaggerating the importance of books as books. The worship of the book, the study of its minutest characteristics, may be a harmless hobby on the part of a private individual, and may be a positive virtue in a specialist scholar ; but for a librarian it may become a vice. It takes the form of an excessive attention to bibliographical minutiae. In the case of a few exceptionally rare and important books such attention is right and necessary ; and if a library possesses an exceptional bibliographical genius such as Richard Proctor, it is right to make full use of him. But to devote the same meticulous attention to the bibliography of particular authors is, I think, a vice on the part of the ordinary librarian. " Had we but world enough, and time," such devotion to detail would possibly be no crime ; but the librarian's duty is to make the books under his care available for use as soon as possible, and it is, in my opinion, a mistake to spin out the work of cataloguing or of publication over many years in the vain hope of saying the last word as well as the first about every book. The librarian, *qua* librarian, is not the scholar who makes the ultimate pronouncement ; he is the servant of the scholar. He may be able, incidentally, to make himself a special authority on some particular branch of literary or bibliographical knowledge ; but that is his individual achievement, and outside his official duty. His official duty is to make his books available to students, and for this the information he gives must be accurate and sufficient ; but it need not be exhaustive, and it should be prompt. The librarian's efficiency is shown in keeping his catalogues as nearly up to date as possible, and his judgement in drawing the line between too little and too much detail. It is easy to think of catalogues which illustrate each of these defects. *Μεσότης τις ἄρα ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρέτη*, and the maxim, *μηδὲν ἄγαν*, applies.

Next there are the *Idola Classis*, the idolatry of classification. Classification, the arrangement of books on the shelves in accordance with their subjects, is essential and probably universal ; even in the humblest private libraries books of the same nature are normally placed together. Theoretically,

classification is not necessary in libraries where the reader has no access to the shelves. Where books are ordered from a catalogue by their press-marks, it is quite immaterial whether a book on astronomy stands side by side with a treatise on Rugby football ; but even in such libraries it is found convenient to have some rough classification, so that theological books, for example, are in one set of presses and novels in another. This makes it easier for the staff to be acquainted with the resources of the library. But in libraries where there is open access, some classification is essential. The question is, to what extent it should be carried.

This is a question on which much metaphorical blood has been spilt and much real energy expended. The names of Brown, Dewey, Cutter, Brussels, Library of Congress, representing different systems of subject classification, have been battle-cries for many years in bibliographical periodicals, and at congresses and places where librarians are gathered together. I do not propose to enter this arena, but merely to suggest some considerations which may mitigate the expectations of benefit to be derived from minute and elaborate classification.

The advantage claimed for it is, of course, that it enables the student to find at once a book on the subject which he wishes to study. Thus, to take an instance which lies before me, if he wants to find a book on the developing processes in photography by the aid of gelatino-bromide of silver, he will (if he has sufficiently studied the handbook to the Dewey decimal system) find it under the press-mark 77[24 : 115]. Or, to give a fuller analysis of the method, if he is in search of the works of the Danish poet, Carl Ploug, he has only to turn up the press-mark 839.8168 ; for 8 denotes literature, 3 German Teutonic literature, 9 minor Teutonic literature, 8 Danish and Norwegian literature, 1 Danish and Norwegian poetry, 6 poetry of the modern period, while the final 8 is Carl Ploug's own number. Whether, instead of running down all these ramifications of the Dewey system, it would not have been simpler to look out the name Ploug in an author catalogue and send an attendant to the shelf indicated, might, as Sir Thomas Browne says, admit some probable conjecture. The possible subdivisions of

knowledge are so various that no one can by the light of nature know what method will be pursued by the classifier, and it is therefore necessary to have at hand the handbook which provides the clue through the labyrinth.

The first delusion, therefore, that lies in wait for the worshipper of classification is that it will save his time. The second is that he will find grouped together on the shelves all the books dealing with the subject which he is studying. If all subjects were clean cut and neatly divided from one another, if every book dealt only with a single subject, and if every book were always to be found in its proper place, this might be so ; but obviously none of these provisos is true. Very many books deal with many different subjects ; and since one book can only stand in one place on the shelves, it will obviously be wanting on the other shelves to which it has a claim. This very volume, to which the present article is a contribution, might be classified as a contribution to the history of Manchester, to the history of libraries, to the biography of Dr. Guppy, and to as many different subjects as are dealt with in its several articles ; but from all but one of the appropriate places on the shelves it will be absent. So, in the instances quoted in the previous paragraph, it is obvious that enlightenment on the photographic problem might have to be sought in general works on photography or on chemistry, as well as in its own particular small niche, and that the works of the poet Ploug might be found in collections of Danish literature as well as by themselves, and estimates of their character in histories of literature or in critical essays on literary subjects.

There are further pitfalls which beset the searcher who pins his faith on shelf classification. As was suggested above, the larger the library, the more likely he is to waste time by examining all the books that stand on the shelves instead of relying on bibliographies or references in other books that treat of the same subject. But a further snare awaits him in the libraries which allow favoured students to reserve on their tables the books which they want to use for their own purposes. If these books are on their tables or in their carrels, they are not on the shelves of the bookstack, and the searcher there will miss these, which may be the most important authorities on his subject.

No doubt, if he knows of the book, he can apply for it and it will be fetched for him if not actually in use ; but if he knows of it, he does not need to search for it on the shelves, but only to order it. It is when the student does not know in what particular book he will find what he needs that he wants to find all the relevant books on the proper shelves ; and that he will not do if the books are reserved elsewhere, and he will not know that he has missed just what would serve his turn. Except in small libraries, the idea of searching on the shelves in the confident hope of finding just what you want, and all that you want, is a dangerous delusion. Classification undoubtedly has its value, but the limits of its usefulness as a guide to the student should be clearly realised.

I am tempted to say a few words about a third form of idolatry, the *Idola Cartae*. Card cataloguing was a great invention, applicable to many forms of business besides libraries, and in many of them unquestionably the most practicable and convenient method of reference. Its application to collections of books, if not invented in America, was certainly most fully developed there. It has made possible a great achievement of co-operative bibliography, whereby the Library of Congress distributes cards to other libraries according to their needs, thereby securing skilled cataloguing at a cost far below that of maintaining a competent staff in every library. The establishment of a similar organisation in Great Britain is a great desideratum ; but since it would have to be centred in the British Museum, some capital outlay by Parliament would be required, though the costs of maintenance would be covered by the subscriptions of libraries using the service. Local libraries also would need to be convinced of its advantages. An energetic organiser and an imaginative Treasury are consequently necessary conditions for the institution of the system, and these requirements are not always to be had for the asking.

But great as is the utility of card cataloguing, it is not everything that it is cried up to be. Like all human institutions, it has its defects. As compared with the alternative system, that employed in the British Museum, whereby printed slips are laid down in large folio volumes, among which the slips

relating to new accessions can be inserted in their proper place, the card catalogue is cumbrous to consult. At a single opening of a volume of the British Museum Catalogue, as laid down and kept up to date in the Reading Room, the searcher can run his eye in a few seconds over thirty or forty entries, instead of having to turn over thirty or forty cards, which, being thin, need careful handling if none is to be overlooked. Cards, moreover, are liable to be misplaced, either by mistake in the original placing, or by accident when a group of cards is being moved or rearranged. On one occasion, during a tour of large libraries, I examined the cards relating to two or three headings with which I happened to be familiar, and in every case found mistakes or misplacements or omissions—which are indeed inevitable. The British Museum system involves the expense of a staff to incorporate without delay the slips describing new accessions (since unless accessions are regularly incorporated, a catalogue in printed volumes begins to get out of date before it is completed), but it is certainly by far the most convenient method for the user of a great library; and the larger the library, the greater the advantage.

All this that has been said in criticism of systems of classification and card catalogues only amounts to this, that human institutions are imperfect. They are, however, legitimate warnings, I think, against exaggerated claims which are sometimes made or implied; and the librarian may be advised not to be too readily satisfied with his technical equipment, and to keep an open mind, alert to guard against inevitable dangers and to look out for possible improvements.

These words, “an open mind,” suggest the fourth and last category of idols to which I wish to refer—the *Idola sui ipsius*. Self-idolatry, whether conscious or unconscious, is not peculiar to the library profession, but it has its own particular forms there, and its own particular temptations. The librarian is the dispenser of knowledge in his own community; in many places he is, with the clergyman and the schoolmaster, the representative of culture and civilisation. He has the power to oblige or disoblige many people. He can help or he can refrain from helping. He is liable to be isolated from others of his own class

and profession, and to have only rare opportunities of exchanging ideas and experience with them. All this tends to foster a self-centred consciousness, an exaggerated sense of one's own importance, and possibly a dictatorial or pontifical manner. It perhaps accounts for a certain asperity of tone which I have sometimes observed in bibliothecarial discussions, at committees and congresses or in print.

The remedy is the virtue already named as of supreme importance—Sympathy, the power of appreciating the other fellow's point of view. It applies equally to the giving of advice and the conduct of discussions. To advise helpfully, one must first comprehend what the other man needs, and then convey the advice without dictation or the assumption of superiority. If it is one's profession to know about books, one has no right to assume superiority over a man whose profession it is to know about, say, motor-cars. If one needed advice about a motor-car, the boot would be on the other leg. In either case one man is invited to put his special knowledge at the disposal of another, and he should be both willing to do so and able to do it without an assumption of superiority—not to mention the fact that this is what he is paid to do. So also in controversy. The points on which librarians differ are seldom of major importance. Differences of opinion are inevitable, and often legitimate, and it should be possible to express them without asperity, and without implying that one's opponent is either dishonest or a dullard. Asperities generate friction, and friction delays progress, in librarianship as well as in motor-cars. I should not wish it to be understood that I regard librarians as particularly self-satisfied or acrimonious. On the contrary, I think the standard of disinterested self-sacrifice in the service of the public is very high in the profession. Rather, both here and throughout these meditations, I have been thinking of defects and temptations which I have known in myself, and in some cases observed in others, and which it may be serviceable to erect as scarecrows. *Nosce teipsum* is a counsel for librarians as well as others; but it is a knowledge that comes late in life, and the communication of which, unfortunately, is rarely of much value to others.

One thing is certain, that it is useless to search for an exemplification of these defects in Dr. Guppy ; to whom, in conclusion, I wish to offer my best thanks for past courtesies and assistance, and my best congratulations on an honourable and well-spent life in the service which a librarian can render to his country and to civilisation.

THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY EXTENSION SCHEME.

By H. H. E. CRASTER,

BODLEY'S LIBRARIAN.

COMPLETION of a large new library building and suspension of work upon existing buildings during the war period give opportunity for a survey of Bodleian Library extension and for setting out the main features of a large and complex scheme of library development at Oxford.

The annals of the Bodleian Library date back to 1602, when Sir Thomas Bodley restored that fifteenth-century chamber which had housed an earlier University Library collection dispersed by the reforming zeal of Edward VI's commissioners. It has more enduring ties with the historic building in which it is enshrined than any other library save the Biblioteca Apostolica of the Vatican. Little wonder that attempts to supersede it by some entirely new construction on modern lines have met with successful resistance. "To abandon it," said a recent Library Commission, "would indeed be a 'pillage of man's ancient heart'." Yet how to meet the needs of an ever-growing library on a site which lent itself so unreadily to expansion? Therein has always lain the crux of the problem.

The whole history of the Library may be said to be a record of extension. Its founder was himself alive to the need for providing growth space. Even at the outset the books collected by him and by his friends filled the old library room which he had refurnished and which bears Duke Humphrey's name. Before he died he had added to it a new eastern wing, the famous Arts End. This fronts a quadrangle of which the remaining three sides are occupied by the Old Schools, a building already projected when Sir Thomas died. Because he foresaw, to quote his own words, "that in the process of time there must of necessity be very great want of conveyance and stowage for books

by reason of the endless multitude of those that are present there and like hereafter to be continually bought and brought in," he provided funds by his will for building an upper storey or second floor to the Schools, primarily as a Picture Gallery but with the secondary object of providing "a very large supplement for stowage of books". Yet even he could not have anticipated the vast output of the modern press, a large part of which he would in any event have rejected contemptuously as "baggage books".

Under the Commonwealth the addition of Selden End as a western wing to Duke Humphrey's Library completed what is now known as the Old Reading-Room and sufficed to meet library needs for close upon a hundred and fifty years. When other contrivances were exhausted, the Bodleian proceeded, as did the similarly placed libraries of the Vatican and of Cambridge University, to encroach upon adjoining chambers. In 1789 the School of Anatomy and Medicine, on the first floor of the south range of the Schools quadrangle, was taken over as "Auctarium Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ" and converted into a book-store for manuscripts, incunabula and *editiones principes*. To find room for the subsequently acquired libraries of Richard Gough, David Oppenheimer and Francis Douce and for other famous collections, one School after another was absorbed, subdivided by partition walls, and shelved from floor to ceiling. By the beginning of the Victorian era all the Schools on the first floor had been annexed; only those on the ground level continued to serve their original function.

Although book storage was increased, it was long before any addition was made to reading accommodation. Bodley continued to be the privileged sanctum of scholars; no junior member of the University stepped within its ancient walls. But academic education received a great impetus during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and the results soon showed themselves in increased use of libraries. On the south side of the Old Schools quadrangle lies Radcliffe Square, and in its centre the noble rotunda, named the Radcliffe Camera, which James Gibbs completed in 1749 to hold a library devised by Dr. John Radcliffe. In 1860 the trustees of Dr. Radcliffe's

will transferred all works on natural sciences to premises in the newly erected University Museum and handed over the use of Camera to the Bodleian Curators. Its upper storey was made a general reading-room for undergraduates and was later furnished with a select library of text-books. The outer arches of its vaulted undercroft were now glazed, and what had been an open loggia became an additional book-store.

With the completion of new Examination Schools in 1882 the ground floor rooms of the Old Schools quadrangle were released for library purposes and rapidly filled. The contents of the Library were growing at an ever-increasing rate. Between the years 1822 and 1888 the number of its books mounted from 160,000 to 440,000. By 1915 it had topped the million mark. To store this influx the Library authorities took over the basements of two neighbouring University buildings—the Sheldonian Theatre and the Old Ashmolean Museum, as well as vaults beneath the Examination Schools. When existing cellarage was exhausted, an underground book-store, consisting of two decks fitted for rolling book-stacks, was excavated in 1912 in the Radcliffe Square, between the Camera and the Bodleian building.

The new book-store was the first planned addition to the Library that had been made since the middle of the seventeenth century, all the buildings taken over in the intervening years having been designed to serve other purposes. It was the first assertion of the principle, since generally accepted, that library stacks might rely entirely upon artificial lighting and ventilation and be independent of sunlight and the air of heaven. It was the earliest extensive experiment to be made in the solid packing of books without intervening gangways, but the experience gained of rolling stacks on its upper deck was not such as to warrant their introduction on the lower. The period for which its makers hoped that the new stack would give shelf space for accessions was thereby shortened. In 1925 Bodley's Librarian announced that all existing book space would be filled up in ten years' time.

Meanwhile, the need for more reading-rooms had also become again apparent. In 1907 the northern half of the Picture

Gallery was fitted up as a general reading-room and shelved with a selection of learned periodicals. Special reading-rooms for Law and for English were created in 1923 and 1929 respectively, the former in the Examination Schools, the latter in the Picture Gallery. The absorption of various specialist libraries into the Bodleian system showed the same tendency in another form. In 1927 the Radcliffe trustees transferred to the Bodleian Curators the administration of the Radcliffe Science Library which, after having been lodged for a time in the University Museum, now occupied a library building of its own. In the same year the Library of the Indian Institute was brought under Bodleian management. Two years later, the trustees of the will of Cecil Rhodes completed the construction of Rhodes House and placed in it a library of American and Colonial history composed in part of works which they themselves had purchased, in part of books transferred from Bodley. Thus in three years the Bodleian extended its authority over three dependent libraries, each one of which came to be administered by Bodley's Librarian under the ægis of an Advisory Committee.

At the beginning of 1930 the Library position was as follows. Book space was within five years of exhaustion, and there was as yet no agreement as to how further space should be provided, for there were some who wanted a new book-stack and others who demanded a new library. Opinion in the University was in the main averse to abandoning a historic building in which Bodley's Library had found a home for more than three hundred years; but there was also a feeling, which was widely shared, that more storage space was not enough. Specialist reading-rooms had been tried and were winning favour. There was a growing demand for direct access to books on open shelves. There were many who thought that more might be made of the Library as a centre for academic study. A movement for library reform produced in March 1930 the appointment of a Commission "to visit modern University Libraries in Europe and America, to report to the University upon the organisation, planning, equipment, and methods of administration of such libraries, and generally to advise the University upon the basis of their investigations as to the best method of securing such

library provision at Oxford as shall be abreast of modern requirements ”.

The Commission reported within twelve months of its appointment and, by a large majority, put forward a number of recommendations of which the chief were the retention of the Old Library buildings and the construction of a new stack. For some years past the urgent need for more storage space had been obvious, but plans put forward had been limited to addition to existing stacks. The Commission commented adversely upon the dispersion of store-rooms, and stated roundly that “ the inconvenience and congestion of the Bodleian book-stores have no parallel in any of the libraries we have visited ”. They advised that all except the underground book-store should be evacuated, and that storage should be concentrated in a new building. This should be of such a size as to be capable of holding about five million books, and provide for intake—if that should remain constant—for the next two hundred years. The first-floor rooms round the Schools quadrangle would be thereby freed from stack, and the Old Library—as the group of seventeenth-century buildings have now come to be termed—would be converted, in the main, into an enlarged range of reading-rooms, shelved with about 100,000 of the books most in demand.

Radical as was this programme, it did not satisfy those who wished to see a fuller and more varied use made of the new building. Compromise was effected. In May 1931, three months after their issue, the University adopted *in toto* the recommendations contained in the majority report of the Commission together with certain resolutions based upon the minority proposals. The chief of these was that, in the erection of the new library, the opportunity should be seized for “ the making of experiments in library administration, including the use of carrels and research rooms adjoining appropriate sections of the stacks ”.

Although a thorough-going scheme for library extension was thus agreed upon, means had still to be found for putting it into effect. Its total cost, including provision of a maintenance fund, was estimated at little short of a million pounds. The

University was far from being in a position to raise that sum. But a year later, in May 1932, the Rockefeller Foundation made the generous offer to contribute three-fifths of the estimated cost provided that the University found the remaining two-fifths within a stated period. The offer was accepted, a private appeal was issued, and, although the University had been given four and a half years in which to find the money, the sum required was raised within a single year and the condition set out in the Rockefeller offer was thereby fulfilled. Liability undertaken by the University Chest to find the sum needed for additional endowment was subsequently met as the result of a public appeal for funds.

Events had moved fast in 1930-1933, and there was need they should. The Library was full, almost to saturation point. A scheme calculated to meet the needs of two centuries had been approved and financed, but existing space was barely sufficient for another two years. A vast new stack could not be built in that short time. It had therefore already been decided to carry out one of the minor recommendations of the Commission, an extension of the Radcliffe Science Library by the addition of reading-rooms and stack space that would double existing accommodation. Plans for this enterprise were prepared by Mr. Hubert Worthington, and work had actually been begun before the Rockefeller gift became absolute. The extension was completed and formally opened in November 1934, and transference of the whole of the science sections in the Bodleian book-stacks came just in time to give the necessary relief.

At the same time the law section was moved to a floor of the new building unrequired as yet for scientific literature. The reason for this step is to be found in another of the Commission's recommendations—the preparation of a new library catalogue. The Bodleian catalogue has passed through various phases; first, interleaved printed catalogues; then a 'transcribed' catalogue consisting of written slips pasted on the blank leaves of large volumes; and finally a combination of written and of printed slips, namely a 'transcribed' catalogue limited to books published before 1920 and a 'printed' catalogue for books published after that date. The new project is for an amalga-

tion of these two alphabets into a single printed-slip catalogue. It requires, as a preliminary, an extensive revision of the old written slips, or rather the completion of a revision begun in 1907 and dropped during the last war. Only preliminary and experimental work could be carried out before there was a room for a cataloguing staff to work in, for the Library, as the Commission had reported, had "practically no rooms for administrative work". The removal of the law books to the Radcliffe Science Library and consequent clearance of one of the ground-floor rooms of the Schools quadrangle, made it possible for a cataloguing staff to be got together, and systematic revision to be begun in January 1935.

Various causes contributed to delay a start upon the main Extension project—the construction of a new book-store. Immediate need for more storage had dictated the enlargement of the Science Library as the first stage in the building programme. Time was also needed for working out the design of the new storehouse. Although the Commission had adumbrated in their report the general lines to be followed, they realised that considerable modifications might have to be made or alternative arrangements adopted. In any event the best distribution of the space available was a matter for the Librarian and Architect. Furthermore the Commission's proposals had to be harmonised with the resolutions based on the minority report, and the respective functions of the Old Library and the new building accurately defined. A Building Committee had been set up, at the launching of the scheme, to advise the Library Curators regarding its execution. With a view to ascertaining the demands that might be made upon the Library, the Faculties were circulated and asked to state their needs. In the light of their replies a scheme for the future allocation of rooms in the Old Library was worked out and adopted as a preliminary to determining what was required in the new building.

When all this was done, choice was made of an architect, and Sir Giles Gilbert Scott was appointed in June 1934. During the next three months the present writer visited various great Continental libraries, accompanied by the architect, and made a more extensive tour of inspection of libraries in the United

States and Canada. Upon the completion of these tours, a Sub-Committee appointed for the purpose set out to prepare, in the light of the information obtained, a specification upon which the plans for the new building should be made. The result of their labours, a ten-page privately printed pamphlet entitled "Instructions to the Architect," received approval in June 1935.

The site upon which the new building should be placed had been settled, in effect, by the University as far back as 1929. It lay to the north of the Old Library but separated from it by an open court, the University offices and the width of Broad Street. Most of the houses in this area were already University property; the remainder had to be acquired and certain leases to expire or to be bought out before the buildings could be demolished. The site was bounded on two sides by main thoroughfares—Broad Street and Parks Road—and on the two other sides by the gardens and Library of Trinity College. It therefore gave no opportunity for expansion, but this defect was in part remedied by the reservation of ground outside Oxford on which a repository might subsequently be erected for the storage of little-wanted books.

The main problem, which had hardly been faced by the Commission, was how to get on this restricted site a building capable of holding about five million books. Building regulations and æsthetic considerations combined to rule out a lofty tower. One type of plan and one alone was found to satisfy all requirements. In the instructions to the architect the building to be erected is defined as "a solid block with a book-stack in the centre, and a basement devoted to book-stack and other suitable uses (e.g. machinery) over almost the whole area of the site beneath". The Commission had contemplated screening the stack on the Broad Street frontage by a building which should contain rooms for staff and other purposes. But more space was needed for Library experiments in order to implement the University's supplementary resolutions. Consequently the instructions given to the architect prescribed a range of rooms round all four sides of the stack. A compact central stack, surrounded by external rooms and so dependent on electric

power for its lighting and ventilation was a departure from previous ideas, but the conception was not entirely a novelty, for the new Library of Columbia University in New York, then just completed, and the annexe, at that time only commenced, to the Library of Congress at Washington, have the same general plan. Its adoption allowed Sir Giles Scott to achieve architectural unity and a harmonious design.

Eighteen months were required for the production of architect's plans and working drawings and for the placing of a contract, with the result that work upon the new building was begun in December 1936. In the following summer Queen Mary laid the foundation-stone. When war broke out the building was nearing its completion, and although work was unavoidably slowed down, it was finished, apart from a few minor fittings, in the course of 1940.

The New Library, as it is justifiably termed, is a square block with frontages 41 feet in height and a central block which rises 78 feet above ground level. Each frontage has three stories. The western range contains staff quarters, including a bindery; rooms for reception, accessioning and cataloguing of books; a canteen and staff common room; and links up with a porter's lodge on Broad Street. A large reading-room with seats for 80 readers occupies the whole of the first floor on the north side of the building and is designed to serve those modern studies which most depend on stack access. A top-lit gallery separates reading-room and stack and will house a copy of the catalogue. The gallery leads at its western end directly to the quarters of the cataloguing staff. Above the reading-room are rooms for photography and for the reading of micro-photographic films. Two exhibition rooms and a committee room fill the ground and first-floor levels of the southern range. On the east front a room in the centre of the first floor is fitted up for consultation of maps. The remaining rooms on all four fronts are allotted to research or are held in reserve.

The central stack consists of eleven decks of which three are below ground level and extend under the whole site. Its six middle decks correspond with the three floors of the outer range, each of which could be converted, if so required, into a

two-storied book-stack. The two topmost decks rise above the surrounding building and consequently possess natural lighting. Each deck is a little over 7 feet in height. With the exception of the two lowest, which will not be brought into permanent use for some years to come, the decks are fitted throughout with ranges of steel stack, broken by gangways and having alleys 2 feet 6 inches wide between each range. Lifts and internal staircases provide communications between the decks. Plenum and extract ventilation is provided throughout the stack, and the whole building is heated by water provided from a thermal storage plant in the basement.

Readers will be admitted to work in the reading-room, in research rooms, or in the stack itself. The privilege of using research rooms will be given to persons engaged in co-operative research, such as the carrying out of a specified piece of work by a Professor or senior member of the University in collaboration with colleagues or pupils with a view to publication; to individual scholars of any Faculty engaged in protracted research, and to advanced classes for the study of manuscripts and other material not easily accessible elsewhere. Stack access is to be granted to members of University Faculties, to persons recommended by the Boards of Faculties, and to other persons at the Librarian's discretion. On the upper decks of the stack twenty-four carrels have been provided and there is room for a hundred more. These will be allotted to readers who require to work for a prolonged period in proximity to certain classes of books. Fifty-two movable desks and chairs have been distributed throughout the stack and are available for readers unprovided with carrels.

Arrangements had been made for the formal opening of the New Library on 14th June 1940. That ceremony has been unavoidably postponed until peace is restored. However, the building is already in full use, although the stack and cataloguing room alone have been taken over for library purposes. As fast as the outer rooms were completed, they were occupied by other University departments or by external institutions. Despite difficulties caused by reduction of staff, the Old Ashmolean and Sheldonian basements, the Camera ground floor, and the greater

part of the rooms round the Old Schools quadrangle have all been evacuated and their contents arranged on the shelves allotted to them in the new stack. The principle of arrangement has been to place on the ground floor and lower ground floor all manuscripts, early printed books, unclassified collections and newspapers, and to distribute classified sections over the upper decks in as convenient relation as possible to the reading-room and the research rooms. War-time uses have been found for the two unshelved decks at the bottom of the building. The bottom level is being converted into a public air-raid shelter ; the deck immediately over it has been made a general storehouse. Here is a great mass of fiction hurriedly removed in the first few weeks of the war from the cellars of the Examination Schools, when they were taken over as a military hospital, and dumped here pending transfer to the underground book-store.

By way of providing a rapid book-service between the stack and the reading-rooms in the Old Library a tunnel has been driven under Broad Street and a mechanical conveyor installed. This runs on a continuous chain which passes over wheels at the top of both buildings. There is a receiving and dispatch station on every floor, so that books can be dispatched or returned by automatic action to or from any level of either building. A pneumatic tube system has been similarly introduced for messages and book orders and has been extended to the Camera.

At its southern end the tunnel links up with a subway uniting the Old Library with the underground book-store and thence giving access to the Camera. Prior to the extension scheme the Camera provided seats for 122 readers. The Library Commission recommended the provision of additional seating accommodation on the upper floor. In 1932 it became necessary to re-wire the Camera, and the opportunity was taken to remodel the lighting in such a way as to make it possible later to place readers' desks in the central space under the dome. Reseating, carried out under Mr. Worthington's directions during the summer of 1935, increased the number of readers' seats from 122 to 174. Finally, in 1940, when the new Library had been completed, the Camera ground floor, now emptied of all the books which had been stored in it, was stripped, cleaned, and

supplied with lighting, heating, and seats and tables for 48 readers. This fine vaulted chamber will not be brought into use until the war is over, but the ultimate result will be to provide seating at the Camera for 222 undergraduate readers, an increase of a hundred over that which existed previously.

One thing remained to complete the extension scheme and to give effect to the Commission's proposal for "an enlarged range of reading-rooms". With the concurrence of the Boards of Faculties a scheme was carefully worked out for transforming the whole of the first and second floors of the Old Schools into rooms appropriated to specific branches of study. Under this scheme the second floor, on which are the present Upper Reading-Room, English Reading-Room and Picture Gallery, will become reading-rooms for Languages and History. The vacated book-stores on the first floor will be rid of many of their partition walls and become reading-rooms for Law, Theology and Oriental Studies. Selden End will be reserved for the reading of manuscripts, and Duke Humphrey's Library remain a general reading-room. Again, with the help of the Faculties, lists were compiled of periodicals, works of reference and books in common use to be shelved on the walls of these rooms, and the task of selection had almost been completed when war broke out.

It had been intended that the reconstruction of the Old Library—the last stage in Bodleian extension—should be carried through in 1940-1941. War has made this impossible, but some progress is being made. A new boiler-house has been constructed in order to allow the extension of heating to all parts of the building as yet unwarmed. Floors have been examined and the necessity established for replacing decayed timber flooring by steel beams and concrete. Work on the ground-floor level has been put in hand. The Commission prescribed "the use of the ground floor of the quadrangle for administrative offices, cloakrooms, and other purposes, including advanced teaching and research at the Librarian's discretion". Its northern sector will form offices for the secretarial and financial staff. These cannot be made at present, but a new room inserted on a mezzanine floor serves as a temporary office for typists and, incidentally, as a guard-room for fire-watchers. The south

range will give accommodation for co-operative research and, until it is ready, a room near the south-east angle of the quadrangle, destined for the use of blind readers, has been put at the disposal of staff engaged on the lexicographical enterprises of the Clarendon Press. Next to this a large room is in course of being fitted up as a Council Chamber for the Library Curators and headquarters for the Society of Friends of the Bodleian.

This then is the scheme of Bodleian Library Extension. Parallels to many of its features may be found in the libraries of the United States. Like the Johns Hopkins Library at Baltimore it aims at giving a large number of reading-rooms for special studies and, within limits, at providing opportunity for reading in proximity to related sections of the book-stack. The general design of the New Library, as has already been pointed out, presents resemblances to the Library of Columbia University and to the annexe to the Library of Congress. But in the main the scheme is individual. Founded on compromise, it is an experiment in working a new library building into an old historic framework. It consists not simply in grafting a new member on to an old organism, but in so transforming the Old Library that it may be vivified by the new.

The progress and details of the Bodleian Library Extension are set out more fully in the following publications :—

Annual Reports of the Curators of the Bodleian Library, 1932-1940.

H. H. E. Craster, "The Bodleian and its Present Problems," *Library Association Record*, 1932, 3rd series, vol. ii, pp. 137-143.

R. H. Hill, "Library Provision in Oxford, the Scheme in Progress," *Library Association Record*, 1934, 4th series, vol. i, pp. 103-107.

H. H. E. Craster, "Bodleian Library Extension, Plans of the New Building," *Library Association Record*, 1936, 4th series, vol. iii, pp. 185-190.

H. H. E. Craster, "Bodleian Library Extension," *Oxford*, special number, 1937, pp. 21-26.

Sir Giles Scott, "The New Bodleian Building," *op. cit.*, pp. 27-30.

H. H. E. Craster, "The New Bodleian Catalogue," *Oxford*, 1939, vol. vi, pp. 62-68.

The following technical articles on the New Library have appeared in professional journals:—

"Bodleian Library, the Engineering Plant," *Air Treatment Engineer*, 1938, vol. i, pp. 12-13, 26.

"Bodleian Library Extension, Oxford," *The Architect and Building News*, 1940, vol. clviii, pp. 143-150.

"Thermal Storage Heating at the New Bodleian Library," *The Electrical Times*, 1941, vol. xcix, p. 52.

AROUND THE EARLIEST SPANISH VERSION OF AESOP'S FABLES.

By GUTHRIE VINE, M.A.,

SUB-LIBRARIAN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

FABLES and parables have always played a prominent part in the history of the human race. They are credited with guiding the minds of men to vital decisions in times of crisis. We all remember the "pretty tale" of Menenius Agrippa as presented in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* about the members of the body and its success in placating the "company of mutinous citizens"—in terms of reputed history the story of the secession of the plebeians to the Sacred Mount in 494 B.C. Even so recently as last October (1940) a German spokesman was glad to avail himself for his purpose of the fable of the grasshopper and the ant.

The fable partakes of the nature of dramatic dialogue; indeed, it may have been the germ from which drama gradually emerged. It is perhaps not entirely without significance that the Latin word "fabula" has the two meanings, fable and drama.

Example is better than precept in the sense that the human mind apprehends more readily in most cases what it can visualise than it does any abstract statement. The fable or parable puts before a man issues as they present themselves in daily life. The moral, or psychological, problem becomes vivid and real; the solution designed by its author, if the illustrative story has been deftly told, has an inevitableness about it that alike for good or ill is equally potent. In the hands of the skilful narrator the mind of the listener is plastic as often no other method of appeal could render it.

Between the fable and the parable there are points of likeness. Both aim at correcting what is wrong, and seek to achieve their end by means of a story. The characters in the fable are

provided by animals and plants, which for the purpose are endued with powers of speech and reasoning. The fable is designed for the inculcation of some moral truth of a general kind, or the enforcement of some maxim of worldly wisdom, which it tries to accomplish by arousing the interest of the listener and stimulating his sense of humour.

The parable, although it too adopts the story as its form of communication, is in reality in a different category to the fable. Whilst the fabulist is concerned with the errors of mankind from the standpoint of their folly, the author of a parable endeavours to treat them on a plane where right replaces prudence as a guiding principle of action. With this loftier end in view, there is no place in the parable for animals and plants as actors without crediting them with the possession of those spiritual qualities by which man believes that he is essentially distinguished from them.

The difference between the fable and the parable becomes more marked when to the lesson which the speaker or writer of a fable wishes to impress, there is added a touch of satire with a personal application—"De te fabula narratur". The design of the narrator is, in fact, in such cases to depress rather than to elevate; it is, indeed, only a way on his part of manifesting his own ascendancy. There may be a latent strain of satire in a parable which the teller of it does not altogether wish to conceal, but he does not allow it to distract from the purpose of his story—to restore the erring one to paths of sanity and rectitude. The Prophet may say "Thou art the man", but it is not in order to achieve a fleeting triumph at the expense of the King that the words are uttered.

The distinction between fable and parable is not always clearly marked. The parable of Jotham to the men of Shechem (Judges ix) approximates closely in character to the form of the fable.

To draw attention to the differences between the parable and the fable is not to detract from the value of the latter as a medium for the communication of ethical ideas. Like the lower forms of currency the importance of the fable is to be gauged not merely by its intrinsic worth, but by the extent and facility of its cir-

culation among all ranks of society, and with persons of all ages. Judged by such a standard, it must be accorded a high place in that class of imaginative literature which under an ingenuous aspect can veil a serious purpose.

There is nothing which we receive with so much Reluctance as Advice. We look upon the Man who gives it us as offering an Affront to our Understanding, and treating us like Children or Ideots. We consider the Instruction as an implicit Censure, and the Zeal which any one shews for our Good on such an Occasion as a Piece of Presumption or Impertinence. The Truth of it is, the Person who pretends to advise, does, in that Particular, exercise a Superiority over us, and can have no other Reason for it, but that, in comparing us with himself, he thinks us defective either in our Conduct or our Understanding. For these Reasons, there is nothing so difficult as the Art of making Advice agreeable ; . . . But among all the different Ways of giving Counsel, I think the finest, and that which pleases the most universally, is *Fable*, in whatsoever Shape it appears.—(Addison.)

J. Jacobs, in the *History of the Æsopic Fable*, vol. 1 of his reprint of Caxton's edition of the *Fables of Æsop* (Bibliothèque de Carabas, 4, 5, 1889), expresses his doubts as to the continuance of the appeal by the fable to the modern mind. "Has it a future as a mode of literary expression? Scarcely; its method is at once too simple and too roundabout. Too roundabout; for the truths we have to tell we prefer to speak out directly and not by way of allegory. And the truths the Fable has to teach are too simple to correspond to the facts of our complex civilisation; its rude *graffiti* of human nature cannot reproduce the subtle gradations of modern life" (pp. 219-220). I do not share these misgivings. Simplicity of form and subtlety of thought are not incompatible. If the soul of wit is brevity, then its embodiment surely is simplicity. One cannot conceive of a time in this world when the sense of humour, the balance-wheel of life, should have lost its power. Not in Æsop alone, but in Greek literature and art generally, simplicity is the element which imparts to each work that sincerity of expression whence spring its permanence and vital force.

There is a temptation to consider as apocryphal the various accounts of Æsop's life recorded in ancient authors, and, further, a tendency amongst some writers to minimise the importance of his contribution to the world's storehouse of ethical tales.

Even if parallels can be discovered in Oriental literature that may have been the remote source from which by devious channels similar motifs have found their way into the fables of Aesop, it is at his hands, if we do not wish to disregard tradition altogether, that they received form and colour congruent to the Western mind, of which the Greeks were the first and greatest interpreters.

The literature relating to Aesop and the fable is so large and its ramifications so extensive that any attempt to survey even a corner of the field would not only be impossible, but inappropriate, within the compass of a short article. If we select for notice the *History of the Æsopic Fable*, by J. Jacobs, already referred to, and *Les fabulistes latins*, by L. Hervieux (5 vols. 1893-1899), we mention these works without prejudice to the merits of the valuable contributions by other scholars to the study of the subject.

That the versatile and witty minds of the men and women of the renaissance should have been attracted by the humour of the Aesopic fable with its applicability to all the phases and incidents of human life is hardly surprising. The number of editions and translations of the Fables which were printed in the fifteenth century supplies convincing evidence on this point. We find that no fewer than seventy editions and versions of various kinds came from the press in this period, besides sixty-three editions of the metrical paraphrase *Aesopus moralisatus* which has been attributed to Gualterus Anglicus, the chaplain of Henry II of England. The earliest of all these to appear is the Latin translation of Omnibonus Leonicensis which is believed to have been printed at Venice by Christopher Valdarfer about 1470-1471. The first edition of the Greek text (which was accompanied by the Latin translation of Rinuccio) was issued by Bonus Accursius at Milan about 1480.

Of these various versions of the Aesopic fables issued in the fifteenth century the one which forms the subject of the present article is the earliest edition of the first Spanish translation printed at Toulouse in 1488, of which the only known copy is in the John Rylands Library.

The contents of the text of the volume can be summarised

Comēco el libro tercero del Esopo varon
muy sabio y declarissimo ingenjo.

La primera fabula del leon y del pastor.



Como los poderosos devē fazer
gracia alos pequenos et meno/
res. y que avn q̄ passe largo tiem/
po nō devē olvidar la gracia los
que la ffeçabē: prueua esta fabu/
la. Andādo el leon en vna mon/
taña erzo el camino. y assy passan/
do por lugar espinoso se le entro
vna espina en la mano la qual le
causo materia y venjio en ella. et yendo por el mōte coxo de
la mano encōtro con vn pastor. Al qual como viesse el leon
comiença delo falagar con la cola teniendo alçada la mano
Viendo el pastor venjr para si al leon fuerte et espantoso: et
turbado de su p̄sencia començo dele dar del ganado que co/
miesse. Mas el leon non curando del comer: mas antes bu/
scando melezina: puso la mano en el seno del pastor. et como
viesse el pastor la llaga y mchazon en la mano: entendio lo q̄
q̄ria el leon. y cō su buen ingenjo con vna lezne aguda poco

¶ 4

briefly. The life of Aesop extends from fo. [ii]a to fo. xxxa. Four books of Aesop, being the collection associated with the name "Romulus", follow—fo. xxxb to fo. lxix—each containing twenty fables. Next, "Las fabulas extravagantes del Esopo comiençan enesta orden" (17 fables)—fo. lxixb to fo. lxxxviiia. Then from fo. lxxxviib to fo. xcvb: "Siguien algunas fabulas del Esopo de la translaçion nueva de remigio" (17 fables). The fables of Avianus (27) occur next—fo. xcvia to fo. cxiiia. Then on fo. cxiiib we find: "Aqui comiẽçan las fabulas coletas de Alfonso ⁊ de Poggio ⁊ de otros enla forma ⁊ orden siguiente", with a subheading on fo. cxxxvia, "Aqui comiençan las fabulas añadidas". This section comprises twenty-six fables in all and ends on fo. cxxxixa, on which page beneath the concluding lines of the text occur the colophon and the printers' device. The work concludes with a list of contents—fo. cxxxixb to fo. [142]a, or rather fo. [140]a, if the error in the foliation of the volume indicated elsewhere is corrected.

On fo. [1] verso is a portrait of Aesop, "I Z O P O", misshapen, it is true, but less displeasing perhaps than some which are to be found in the early editions (see facsimile). He is facing towards the left in this volume, which is the opposite direction to that in some of the celebrated fifteenth-century editions. This woodcut is, however, not a mere reverse of these, as the various objects and beings, intended to exemplify the sources from which Aesop drew his moral lessons, which are placed on either side of him, are quite differently drawn. The woodcuts, too, of which there are 195, are dissimilar to those occurring in other better-known early editions. Twenty-eight of these serve to illustrate the life of Aesop, one is prefixed to the preface of the First Book of Fables, and there is one for each of the entire collection of fables. These woodcuts, if somewhat crude in appearance, are yet fresh and vigorous, displaying admirably in many cases the comic nature of the tales that they illustrate. They measure about 125 mm. in width and about 70 mm. in height.

There is a fine woodcut border of arabesque pattern in the Italian style on fo. [2] recto. It is in four pieces, the one at the

base containing a representation of two angels supporting a blank shield, intended for the insertion by an illuminator of the arms of the owner. This border has unfortunately suffered at the binder's hands, owing to the volume being shorn too closely.

A large and ornate woodcut initial, measuring 52 mm. in height by 57 mm. in width, is to be found at the commencement of each section of the book. These initials, which are of worn appearance, resemble closely in character those used by Peter Wagner, of Nuremberg, and also previously, according to Proctor, by Conrad Zeninger, of the same city, whose stock of type passed into the possession of Wagner, probably about 1483. The letters C, R, T, L, M, E occur in the volume. In other cases, where, by the nature of the text, a smaller initial was required, blank spaces have been consistently left, varying in depth from 3 to 5 lines, occupied only by a director, a method of indication commonly employed by the early printers to guide any illuminator who might be engaged by a wealthy book-lover to embellish a volume for him.

The volume is printed in a fine Gothic type, described as Type 4 in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (vol. 1, no. 379), following the classification of Haebler in the *Typenrepertorium der Wiegendrucke*, Abt. II, S. 314 (1908), and agreeing with that of Proctor in *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum*, who refers to the peculiar form of the letter r used in it (not exclusively), "r perruña", which resembles a double f in appearance. 20 lines measure 111 mm.

A full page of text contains 36 lines and measures 201 mm. in height by 127 mm. in width. The outside measurements of the copy are 263 mm. by 190 mm. approximately. The volume has foliation throughout, except for the first two leaves and the last three, i.e. fo. iij to fo. cxxxix. An error in foliation occurs after fo. cviii, which is succeeded by fo. cxj. The register is : a⁸-n⁸ o⁶ p⁸ q⁶ r⁸ s⁸—140 leaves.

Watermarks.—(a) A hand raised in benediction, of variant form, appears as a watermark throughout the volume, measuring 56 mm.-63 mm. in height by 26 mm. in width resembling in some respects the watermark 11552 in the work of C. M. Briquet,

la gallina. si nõ fuesse por entretener el honor delas dueñas
yo lo diria: mas por q cada vno es obligado delo guardar
quãto puidiere por el presente non lo declaro. mas tu que la
questiõ me demandas dixo la gallina que tomes exemplo
de ser conel tuyo ptento. ca cosa es muy plazien adios quã-
do viuen dos en vna carne: como el mando.

Aqui se acaba el libro del Esopete ystoriado: aplicadas
las fabulas en fin junto conel principio a moralidad prone
chofa ala correccion ⁊ avisamjeto dela vida hñana: con las fa-
bulas de hemigio: de aviano: doligamo: de alfonso: ⁊ pogio
con otras extrayagãtes ⁊ añadidas. El qual fue sacado de
latijn en ffrança: et impremido en la muy noble cibdad Tho-
losa: por los muy discretos maestros Joan parix ⁊ Estevan
cleblat. en el año del señor de mill et. cccclxxviij.



Les filigranes (1907). M. Briquet considers that this type of watermark, the hand raised in benediction, if it occurs in any paper is to be regarded as a sign of French origin.

(b) A capital R, enclosing a smaller capital I, is also distinguishable in some cases, near the edge of a leaf measuring 18 mm. in height by 22 mm. in width.

Beneath the colophon of this Spanish translation of Aesop's fables is the rather ornate but somewhat puzzling device of the press (shown in the accompanying facsimile), in white on a black ground, within a rectangle measuring 73 mm. in width by 95 mm. in height. Brunet in his *Manuel du libraire*, vol. 1, col. 1092 (5th ed., 1860), in giving a description of "Laiguillon damour divine" ("sans lieu ni date") of St. Bonaventura, reproduces the device, and being unaware of the names of the printers reads the cipher portion of it as representing the letters C.S.H.R. ; in the supplement to the *Manuel*, vol. 1, col. 149 (1878), this edition is described again, but by this time the printers had been identified, so this portion of the device is said to stand for a combination of the letters S.C.H.P., "qui signifient : Stevan (pour Estevan) Clebat, et Hierosme Parix". Haebler in the *Typenrepertorium der Wiegendrucke*, Abt. II, S. 314 (1908), finds here a representation of the letters S.C.H.R., a decipherment differing only from the one originally proposed in Brunet's work in the arrangement of the letters. Haebler, moreover, was cognisant of the printers' names, as he gives this rendering in the subdivision treating of the various types which they employed. M. Polain, in his book *Marques des imprimeurs et libraires en France au xve siècle* (1926), beneath a reproduction of the device, says, "Marque avec les initiales : S C (Stephan Clebat) et H P A R I X (Hans Parix)". Before referring to the work of M. Polain I had tried to interpret the right-hand monogram in this way, but the attempt was inviting rather than convincing.

Heinrich Turner, who belonged to Bâle, where he acquired his knowledge of printing, seems to have left that city for Toulouse in 1475, to establish a press in the latter place. His residence there was only a short one, as we know that his death had already occurred before July, 1477. In the meantime Johann Parix of Heidelberg had become a partner in the firm. By the

year 1479 he had reorganised the press, at which he printed various Latin books until 1483 when his business as a printer ceased for a while. It was not until 1488 that Jean Parix reappears as a printer at Toulouse in partnership with another German, Stephan Cleblat. The first time that the names of the two partners appear together in a book bearing a date is in the colophon of the Spanish version of Aesop's fables which forms the subject of the present article. Two other dated Spanish books were avowedly printed by them the following year, the *Vision deleytable de la filosofia et delas otras sciēcias* of Alfonso de la Torre, and *La ystorya de la linda Melosyna*. A third book which issued from their press was *Laiguillon damour divine*, a French translation by Jean Gerson of the supposititious work of St. Bonaventura, entitled "Stimulus divini amoris". This work is without date, name of place, or printer. It has the device, however, of Parix and Cleblat at the end of the volume (as already mentioned)—the same that is found in their edition of Aesop's fables. From the fact that it is printed in type 5 it may probably be attributed to the year 1489.

No other books than those mentioned seem to have been produced at the press of Parix and Cleblat. The latter figures in a list of imposts of 1489 for the district of Saint-Etienne as "Mestre Esteve, molayre de libres . . . detz sous X^s". To Cleblat, "mouleur de livres", i.e. typefounder, may be given the credit for the handsome fount used in the edition of Aesop which we are describing. Whilst we have no further information about Cleblat after 1489, the name of Johann Parix is found in certain later records. He would seem to have been an enterprising business man, for he appears to have carried on a fairly extensive bookselling trade in Spain, which would account for the printing of the Spanish books which were issued during his partnership with Cleblat. A further indication of his capacity in this direction may be found in his relations with Heinrich Mayer, the only other printer at Toulouse in the fifteenth century. This printer was responsible for the publication of some twenty-three works, including the first French translation of the *De imitatione Christi*, from the year 1484 till towards the close of the century. In the later part of his career he experienced

difficulties in carrying on his business. On his death in 1500 his plant passed into the hands of Johann Parix, perhaps by reason of financial aid rendered by the latter at some time to Mayer. Parix did not retain the material, but sold it in April, 1501, to Johannes Magni, a bookseller of Toulouse, who parted with it again in the summer of the same year. Although the books produced at Toulouse in the fifteenth century, the third city in France where the typographic art was practised, were not numerous, they included some noteworthy works. Non multa sed multum.

There is an enigma connected with Heinrich Turner, whom we have already spoken of as a partner of Jean Parix, of a similar kind to one which we have previously examined. Certain initials H T D B M H O occurring at the end of an edition of the work of Antoninus Florentinus, *De sponsalibus et matrimonio*, and M H D B found after the "Explicit" of an edition of the *De ludo scachorum* of Jacobus de Cessolis, which had puzzled many persons, were plausibly enough supposed by Mlle. Pellechet to represent respectively: (a) "Huius Operis Typographus Martinus Huss De Botvuar", and (b) "Martinus Huss De Botvuar" (a form of the name used by this printer at Lyon). Haebler, in his work *Die deutschen Buchdrucker des XV. Jahrhunderts im Auslande*, p. 235 (1924), gives two different interpretations, based on cogent evidence. The first group of initials he would read "Henricus Tornerii De Basilea Magister Huius Operis", and the second "Magister Henricus De Basilea". The somewhat cryptic entry, "Toulouse. [Martin Huss=] Heinrich Turner" (as it appears at first sight), in Haebler's *Typenrepertorium der Wiegendrucke*, Abt. V, Ergänzungsband II, S. 158 (1924), is thus explained. Heinrich Turner displaces Martin Huss as a printer at Toulouse, who previously had been believed to have practised the typographic art in that city prior to the establishment of his press at Lyon. The *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, vol. 6, no. 6524 (1934), in a note appended to the entry under Jacobus de Cessolis for the edition of the work *De ludo scachorum* already alluded to, supports Haebler's interpretations of the initials which affects, as is indicated, one or two earlier attributions in that catalogue to Martin Huss. The

heading to Tafel 2273 of the *Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Typenkunde des XV. Jahrhunderts* (1935-1936), which reads, "Toulouse: Heinrich Turner [1476] and Johann Parix [1476-81]", shows additional acceptance of H. Turner as a printer at Toulouse.

The controversy that existed at one time with respect to printing at Toulouse in the fifteenth century raised by advocates of the claims of Tolosa in Spain may be regarded as closed. The names of printers mentioned in this article occur, for instance, in the records of the city of Toulouse. The colophon, again, to the Spanish translation of the work of Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, which issued from the press of Henry Mayer in 1488, reads expressly, "Aqui feneçe el libro de consolaçion de Boeçio el qual fue inpresso en Tolosa de françia por maestro Enrique mayer aliman . . .". Since the systematic study and classification of types used in the fifteenth century as developed by Proctor, Haebler, and other workers in the same field of research, there is no longer a place for arguments about the printing of incunabula based on plausible conjecture alone, except in the very rare cases where positive evidence of a typographical nature is either conflicting, or entirely lacking.

The contents of this Spanish translation of Aesop's fables are similar to those of the first French version by Julien Macho, printed at Lyon in 1480 by Nicolaus Philippi and Marcus Reinhard, of which an English rendering was made by William Caxton and printed by him at Westminster in 1484, and a Dutch version was printed by Gerard Leeu at Antwerp in 1485. A Latin edition of like contents, accompanied by a German translation by Heinrich Steinhöwel was printed at Ulm by Johann Zainer about 1476-1477. Jacobs in his *History of the Æsopic Fable*, p. 186, speaks of "Steinhöwel's Äsop as the parent of all the printed Æsops of Europe".

This version was made, as we learn from the prefatory matter, for Henry, Infant of Aragon, who was a son of Ferdinand, Infant of Castile and afterwards King of Aragon, and a brother of John, King of Navarre, afterwards King of Navarre and of Aragon. He was the source of a great deal of political

trouble during the reign of John II, King of Castile. After a life spent in active opposition to the King, his forces were defeated with those of his brother John by the royal army in a battle near Olmedo on 19th May, 1445. Although he escaped capture in the battle by flight, he did not survive long, as he died at Calatagud on 15th July, 1445, as the result of a wound received in the engagement which set up gangrene in his left arm. There is said to have been at one time in the Escorial a manuscript containing the following work attributed to him, "*Leges & statuta Ordinis Militiæ Sancti Iacobi de Spatha in eiusdem Ordinis generalibus Comitibus Toleti anno MCCCCXL celebratis editæ*", of which famous order he was Grand Master. Two other editions of this translation of Aesop's fables appeared in the fifteenth century, one printed at Zaragoza by Hans Hurus in 1489, and the other at Burgos by Friedrich Biel in 1496.

At the beginning of the volume is a lengthy biography of Aesop, which after some preliminary matter follows closely the life in Latin of Rinuccio d'Arezzo, which is a version of the Greek one compiled by Maximus Planudes (c. A.D. 1260-1330) from earlier sources. This Latin version of Aesop's life by Rinuccio was printed with his Latin translation of the fables a number of times in the fifteenth century.

Rinuccio (variously known as Rainucius, Remigius, Rimitius, etc.) was a secretary at the curia of Pope Nicholas V along with Poggio, who acquired a knowledge of Greek under his guidance. He was born at Castiglione about A.D. 1395 and is known to have been still living in A.D. 1450. Of the original life by Maximus Planudes, Bentley said "that, perhaps, it cannot be matched in any language for ignorance and nonsense".

A little further on Bentley says, speaking still of Planudes: "But of all his injuries to Æsop, that which can lest be forgiven him, is; the making such a monster of him, for ugliness: an abuse, that has found credit so universally; that all the modern Painters, since the time of Planudes, have drawn him in the worst shapes and features, that fancy could invent". (The picture of Aesop by Velasquez in the Prado Museum at Madrid forms no exception to this rule.) "What credit" (Bentley asks) "then can be given to an ignorant Monk; that broaches

a new story, after so many ages? In Plutarch's *Convivium*, our Æsop is one of the guests; with Solon and the other Sages of Greece: there is abundance of jest and raillery among them; and particularly upon Æsop: but nobody drolls upon his ugly face; which could hardly have escaped, had he had such a bad one."

The argument of Bentley that the association of Aesop with the beautiful Rhodope (or Rhodopis), his fellow-slave, who, according to one story, became Queen of Egypt, cannot be considered altogether convincing. It may well have been that wit rather than comeliness of person would attract "Rhodope, that built the pyramid", in the words of Tennyson, who is here following an ancient legend discredited by Herodotus (Book II, 134-135). Landor in his *Imaginary Conversations*, it will be remembered, has essayed two fictitious dialogues between Aesop and Rhodope for the entertainment of his readers. Further, agreeably to Herodotus, Sappho attacked her brother, Charaxus, bitterly in a poem, because he was captivated by the charms of Rhodope and ransomed her from slavery. The beauty who was the cause of Sappho's ire, however, is generally believed to have been named Doricha, and it is quite probable that Herodotus has confused two different persons. A theory, on the other hand, which has been advanced that Doricha was the real name of this celebrated individual, and that Rhodopis (Ῥοδῶπις), "the rosy-faced", was an appellation by which she was commonly known, would remove this difficulty of identification.

In his reference to the statue of Aesop by the sculptor Lysippus (latter half of the fourth century B.C.) Bentley seems to be on surer ground. "And must so great a hand be employed, to dress-up a lump of deformity?" In ancient Greece deformity of body or mind was not calculated to evoke admiration, nor to attract the efforts of her artists. In life and art the Greeks anticipated, with their own experience, the merit of the Roman poet's counsel, "Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano".

In case the half-length statue of a humpback in the Villa Albani at Rome should be cited as an early witness (second century A.D.) to the deformity of Aesop it should be stated that A. Hekler in his *Greek & Roman Portraits* (p. xxxviii

—1912) regards it as a representation of a Roman “court dwarf formerly called Aesop”. Helbig, in his *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom . . . Dritte Auflage* (Bd. 2, S. 416, 1913), does not agree, it is true, that the statue exhibits an imperial court jester, but at the same time gives no reason for considering that it is a representation of Aesop, which evidently rests on a pure assumption. Sieveking, in *W. von Christs Geschichte der griechischen Literatur. Fünfte Auflage* (Teil 2, ii, S. 1307—1913), puts as the heading for his description of this statue “Sog[enannte] Aisopos”, and is inclined to agree with Hekler that it is a portrait of a buffoon at the imperial court. He suggests that a bronze in Naples of an unprepossessing man, which he attributes to the early Hellenistic period, that was formerly supposed to represent Seneca, and then various other persons, may be intended for Aesop.

In the collection of vases in the Etruscan Museum of the Vatican there is a cup which is carefully described by Helbig (Bd. I, S. 341). On it is depicted a dwarf of exaggerated ugliness, seated on a stone, and wrapt in a mantle, from which projects a crutch-stick. He is gazing at the scene opposite where a fox (the choregus amongst animals), with brush drawn back, sits on a rock gesticulating with fore-pad upraised, whilst engaged in conversation. Helbig considers that the human figure is meant for Aesop, an opinion which is supported by the delineation of the fox as accompaniment.

The only indication of the date for this cup (numbered 571 in Helbig's work) is to be found in the chronological register at the end of vol. 2, where nos. “569-582” appear in a list of Attic red-figured vessels assigned to the fifth century B.C. Assuming that this particular antique is believed to be of that date, and granting that the human figure pictured on it is intended to represent Aesop, it must certainly be accounted a very early instance of his portrayal as a deformed being. It seems highly probable that the artist was only treating his subject humourously—as befitting the theme, and as the posture of the figures more or less clearly indicates—and so he would be in no sense attempting to produce a portrait of Aesop. In that case, one would no sooner regard such a representation of

Aesop as true to life than one would think of resorting to a comic cartoon for a portrait of a modern celebrity.

“Solventur risu tabulæ ; tu missus abibis.”

“Oh, then a laugh will cut the matter short :

The case breaks down, defendant leaves the court.”—Conington.

In a subject replete with conjecture one may allude to the fantastic derivation mentioned by W. G. Rutherford in his edition of the fables of Babrius (1883), which might conceivably have been responsible for the imputation of ugliness to Aesop, that his name evolved from *Αἰσχρος* and *ὤψ*, signifying the “ugly-faced one”. Even in later times such weird efforts in etymology are not uncommon.

Ménage, in the seventeenth century, accounted by Bayle “one of the most learned men of his time”, who to his own satisfaction traced the etymological descent of the word “haricot” from the Latin “faba”, sought in “equus” the derivation of Alfana, the name of the horse of Gradasso, one of the notable warriors in Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*. This elicited from the Chevalier d’Aceilly (the pseudonym of Jacques de Cailly) an epigram which on account of its comparative pertinence seems worth quoting here :—

Alfana vient d’equus sans doute
Mais il faut convenir aussi
Qu’à venir de là jusqu’ici
Il a bien changé sur la route.

After stating the facts such as they are about the reputed portraits of Aesop, one can surely be content, until some unimpeachable evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, to concur with the opinion of Bentley on this question of the fabulist’s looks and physical form.

On fo. xxxb of the volume which we are describing, beneath a woodcut on the right of which a man is seated at a desk writing, whilst on the left a servant is apparently handing a volume to another man, we find the introductory passage : “Aquí comiēça el pfacio 7 plogo del p̃mero libro del Esopo. Romulo a Tiberino su fijo dela cibdad athica premissa salud 7c Ciertamēte el esopo ombre griego clarissimo et ingenioso cõ sus fabulas 7 exemplos

enseña a los ombres : de q̃ deuã guardar se en sus fechos . . .”, followed a little further on by these words, “. . . ̃ otras muchas cosas enseña. segũd q̃ paresçe por estas sus fabulas seguiẽtes. Eyo Romulo las traslade de griego en lati. . . .”. Although it may be slightly outside the scope of this article, it may be considered of some interest to allude to the enigma surrounding the name “Romulus”. In certain manuscripts we find Romulus described as “Rome imperator”, “urbis Romæ imperator”, etc. Some writers in consequence have been inclined to identify the author of this prologue with Romulus Augustulus, last Roman Emperor of the West (A.D. 475-476), but it seems probable that this title was an embellishment of the text attributable to the fancy of some copyist. Hervieux, in *Les fabulistes latins* (vol. 1, p. 305), would regard the name Romulus merely as a pseudonym. A point in favour of this opinion is the doubtfulness of the statement that the fables were translated directly from the Greek as claimed in the prologue by the writer of it, a fact which creates a feeling of distrust not confined to the one issue. Hermann Oesterley, on the other hand, who published an edition of the “Romulus” fables in 1870, believed that Romulus was the real name of the person so designated in the prologue, who might have lived in the tenth century. In support of this view he refers to the frequency with which the name Romulus is found in the middle ages, as well as that of Tiberinus. A suggestion, however, which he makes as to the identity of “Romulus” is only to be regarded as conjectural, although it proves the occurrence of that name in Rome as late as the year A.D. 964. Still, the opinion of this scholar on the question of the genuineness of the name is entitled to due attention and respect.

It may appear at first sight that the words occurring at the beginning of the prologue “dela cibdad athica”, as found in this Spanish version, or “de ciuitate athica” in some Latin editions, standing in the position which they do would sufficiently disprove the theory of Oesterley that “Romulus” and “Tiberinus” were Italians, but Hervieux, who has examined this point with care, adduces good reasons for thinking that an error in punctuation was responsible in the first instance for a misconstruction

of the phrase, which was followed afterwards by a transposition in the text. He supports the theory that originally these words referred to Aesop, and then suffered a transference in their application. The Burney manuscript (59) of the fables in the British Museum, for instance, assigned to the tenth century by Oesterley, commences in this way: "Romulus tyberino filio. De ciuitate attica esopus quidam homo greçus et ingeniosus", etc. It will be seen from this quotation how easily a mistake in the application of the phrase could arise through the insertion of a full stop in the wrong place, and that the explanation which has been suggested is highly probable.

This Romulus collection of fables is in reality a prose version of those of Phaedrus who lived in the first century A.D. and turned into verse the fables that were in circulation under Aesop's name, introducing at the same time anecdotes of various kinds. It may have derived from a still earlier prose version, styled "Aesopus ad Rufum", well known from the manuscript preserved at Wolfenbüttel, but on this matter one cannot speak with certainty. A point worth noting is that the Burney manuscript of the fables in the British Museum, already mentioned, although dissimilar in character, concludes with a letter "Magistro Rvfo Aesopvs", of which the commencement resembles that prefixed to the Wolfenbüttel manuscript. The texts of both manuscripts are reprinted by Hervieux in vol. 2 of *Les fabulistes latins*.

Of "Las fabulas extravagantes" which follow the "Romulus" fables in this Spanish translation of 1488, the author is not known. An English version of Aesop's fables, commonly attributed to King Alfred, but also to King Henry I, which was apparently in existence in the thirteenth century, has been suggested by Jacobs in his *History of the Æsopic Fable* (p. 186) as the ultimate source of them. They appear in Steinhöwel's edition of Aesop, which, as we have previously indicated, provided the model for the later impressions of the fifteenth century.

"Las fabulas de remigio [otherwise Rinuccio]", coming after "Las fabulas extravagantes" are actually a selection of fables that this scholar is believed to have translated from a prose

recension, which may have had its origin in the collection in Greek verse by Babrius, who can probably be assigned to the second century of the Christian era. Babrius is thought to have been a Roman, residing in Asia, probably in Syria. The greater number of his fables were found in a manuscript discovered in 1842 in the Monastery of St. Laura on Mount Athos by a Greek, Minoides Menas, who made a copy of them, from which J. F. Boissonade prepared an edition of the text that was published at Paris in 1844. The original codex was afterwards acquired by Menas, and in 1857 passed from his possession into that of the British Museum. Some fables of Babrius had been known previous to the discovery of this manuscript, and others have been found subsequently.

We come next to Avianus whose forty-two fables were written in elegiac verse. In some manuscripts he is called Avienus, but there is little doubt that he is to be distinguished from Rufius Festus Avienus, a Latin poet of the fourth century A.D., known, amongst other works, for a verse translation of the "Phænomena" of Aratus. The period when Avianus lived was probably at the end of the fourth century, or the beginning of the fifth century A.D., and therefore a little later than the translator of Aratus. Of the forty-two fables written by Avianus, only twenty-seven are included in this Spanish translation, as in the edition of Steinhöwel, whose text was based on one of the prose versions of the original poetic compositions.

To Steinhöwel is due also the inclusion of the last section of the volume in the collection of Aesopic fables, namely, "Las fabulas coletas de Alfonso 7 de Poggio 7 de otros". Petrus Alfonsi (1062-1110) was physician to King Alfonso VI of Castile. As a Jew by birth, his original name was Moses Sephardi, which he changed to the aforementioned form on his adoption of Christianity in 1106. His collection of thirty-three tales, written in Latin, and entitled "Disciplina clericalis", attained a great popularity in the middle ages. It is from this work that Steinhöwel chose to select a certain number of stories for incorporation in his edition of Aesop. The celebrity of Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459) as apostolic secretary to various popes, and a foremost scholar of the renaissance, is such that it is

unnecessary to say more about him here than that the stories of his which appear in "Las fabulas coletas" were taken originally by Steinhöwel from a collection composed in Latin, and completed by Poggio about 1450.

We have deferred to this point any allusion to the question of the authorship of the life of Aesop, ascribed to Planudes. An edition of Aesop's fables was published at Florence in 1809 (2 vols.) with the title "*Αἰσώπου μῦθοι*. Fabulae Aesopicae quales ante Planudem ferebantur ex vetusto cod. abbatiae Florentinae nunc primum erutae Latina versione notisque exornatae cura . . . Francisci de Furia . . .". In the prolegomena to this edition Furia, on palæographical grounds which he considered satisfactory, attributed this manuscript to the end of the thirteenth century, whereas Planudes flourished in the early part of the next century. As this date has been usually accepted for this codex, the opinion has gained currency that Planudes was not the author of this fatuous life of Aesop. This manuscript contains a very miscellaneous collection of works, including, besides the fables and life of Aesop, letters of Theodore II (Lascaris), Emperor of Nicaea from 1254 to 1258, various Greek romances such as that of Chariton Aphrodisiensis, entitled "De Chærea et Callirrhoe", and the one of Xenophon Ephesius, called "De amoribus Anthiæ et Abrocomæ" (for both of which novels this volume provides the source of the text), besides other writings. On the question of the date of this codex G. A. Hirschig in a preface, written in 1853, to an edition of *Erotici scriptores* speaks thus: "Florentinus noster est seculi XIII aut XIV". It is very improbable that Hirschig was unaware of the date that had been assigned to it previously, so that we can only think that he was deliberately proposing a later one—one, moreover, that does not exclude the possibility of Planudes being the author of the life of Aesop with which his name was so early associated, and for which a reason must have originally existed. Also, in *W. von Christs Geschichte der griechischen Literatur. Fünfte Auflage* (Teil 2, ii, S. 642—1913) the XIII-XIVth century is given as the date of this manuscript. Some explanation must be offered for this attribution to Planudes, and, if the thirteenth century is pre-

ferred for the date of the single manuscript, on which the question of his authorship depends, then, perhaps, he may still not be free from the minor charge of plagiarism. The codex appears to have passed at some time into the possession of the Laurentian Library at Florence, as it is referred to in *Mnemosyne* (vol. 8, p. 229) by C. G. Cobet, one of the editors, in some notes on Chariton, as "Laurentianus liber".

The best accredited events of Aesop's life may be succinctly recounted. If they are few in number and uncertain, it need occasion little surprise when we recall how welcome any additional information would be for the biography of Shakespeare at a period two thousand years later in the history of the world. He was born probably about 620 B.C. and lived to about 560 B.C. The locality of his birth is doubtful; Phrygia, Thrace, and other places have been named. In favour of Phrygia it is claimed that his name is derived from the river Aisepos (*Αἰσηπος*—in the present century called Aesopos), running through the part of that country adjacent to the Propontis, and discharging its waters there. It is probably more exact to describe it as a river of Mysia. It was customary for slaves to be named after the country whence they came, and it is interesting to note that the name Aesop recurs later as a slave appellation. After apparently serving other masters Aesop, it is generally agreed, became the slave of Iadmon of Samos, with Rhodope as a companion. His position as a slave is an indication that he was not a true-born Greek. He must evidently have obtained his freedom, as Aristotle in his treatise on Rhetoric (Book II, 20) relates how he defended a demagogue at Samos who was on trial for his life by the employment of a fable about a fox. Incidentally, it may be asked whether even in ancient times it was probable that a man of repellent aspect and stammering tongue would be selected by the defendant of a capital charge as an advocate likely to obtain an indulgent hearing from those acting as judges in his case?

It is related that Aesop went to the court of Croesus, King of Lydia, and while he was there is said to have rebuked Solon, who was on a visit, for a lack of courtesy to the monarch. He is said to have travelled to Athens in the time of the Tyrant

Pisistratus and to have narrated the fable of "The Frogs and Jupiter" in order to reconcile the citizens to the government of their ruler.

His end was a tragic one. He was sent on a mission to Delphi by Croesus with a large quantity of gold to make an oblation to the gods and for distribution amongst the priests and citizens there. Some disagreement occurred and Aesop without disbursing the money sent it back to Sardis. The inhabitants of Delphi, enraged at his action, charged him with sacrilege, and threw him in their wrath over a steep precipice called Hyampia. Famine and disease overtook the land, which the people of Delphi attributed to divine vengeance for their crime. In order to placate the Deity and to atone for their act they made it known throughout Greece that they would give satisfaction and submit to any penalty if someone appeared who was entitled to make such a claim as a representative of Aesop. Three generations afterwards an application by "Idmon a Samian . . . descended from those who had purchased Aesop in Samos" was recognised by the Delphians, who paid him the indemnity which he demanded, and so obtained release from their calamities. For this account of Aesop's death we have relied on the story as it was told by Plutarch in his work "*De sera Numinis vindicta* (12)". The fact that Aesop was entrusted by Croesus with such an important mission provides a remarkable testimony to the confidence which his character and personality inspired in that sovereign.

It is considered improbable that Aesop himself committed his fables to writing. Herodotus, indeed, describes him as *λογοποιός*, a term usually applied to writers of prose, and the employment of it raises the question whether it would have been used in the case of Aesop if there had been no written records of the fables in the historian's day. By the time of Aristophanes the fables must have gained widespread currency, for allusions to Aesop and his witticisms are found in the "Birds", the "Peace", and the "Wasps", which by their introduction show clearly enough the familiarity of the Athenian populace with them. In the "Birds" (l. 471), produced 414 B.C., an expression occurs which would seem to indicate clearly

the existence of manuscript copies of the fables at this period, "οὐδ' Αἰσωπον πεπάτηκας", "you have not pored over your Aesop". Blaydes, in his edition of this comedy (1842), renders πεπάτηκας "assidue legisti"; the word is used in a similar sense in Plato's *Phaedrus* (273 A): "Ἀλλὰ μὲν τὸν γε Τισίαν αὐτὸν πεπάτηκας ἀκριβῶς." "Well now you have studied Tisias himself carefully." Under any circumstances it would seem unlikely that in the case of stories with such an extensive circulation no attempt should have been made during a long period to gather them together, whether one conceives such a collection as a cause of their popularity, or as the outcome of it.

We know from Plato's *Phaedo* how Socrates during his imprisonment preceding his execution spent some of his time: "I therefore put into verse those fables of Aesop, which I had ready at hand and knew, on which I chanced first". These somewhat equivocal words have been interpreted as a circumlocution for "which I remembered". If they do imply that Socrates was trusting to his memory and not to any kind of manuscript material, there is still no justification for the inference that he could only have made his acquaintance with the fables through oral tradition as the sole form in which they were preserved. The previous remarks about Aristophanes furnish sufficient reasons in support of the contrary view.

The first collection of Aesop's fables of which we have authentic information was made by Demetrius Phalereus, the Athenian statesman (c. 345—c. 285 B.C.). Beyond the fact that he formed such a collection which Diogenes Laertius mentions in his "Lives of eminent philosophers" (Bk. V, 80-81) we do not know anything about it. Of the fables in Greek verse by Babrius we have spoken previously. We have now traced the history of the fables of Aesop so far as it is in any way connected with the earliest Spanish version of them, in such detail as the nature of the text seemed to require. In a subject so complex unanimity of opinion on various questions is not to be expected and for that reason we have cited in many cases the authorities on which we have chosen to rely for our statements.

When we speak of the intellectual debt that the world owes to Greece, our minds turn to Homer, Sappho, Thucydides, and

the great dramatists, orators and philosophers whose radiant lustre, despite the passage of the ages, remains unclouded and undimmed, yet perhaps a place may still be found in our thoughts for the companion of our childhood and the mentor of our more mature years, Aesop, the one-time slave, whose stories were not deemed unworthy to illumine the last days of Socrates.

ENGLISH AUTOGRAPH LETTERS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

BY W. WRIGHT ROBERTS.

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

IT would be vain to expect that any great library's manuscript wealth should grow uniformly, when it lies in many and various fields. In such developments, fortune plays its part, whatever skill and vigilance may be shown. Only within the last dozen years has the field of this Library's autograph letters blossomed with a wealth comparable to that of other more famous fields. Letters in small and in large collections, from one pen or from many, figure repeatedly in the hand-lists ¹ of our English manuscripts. Since 1931 some half-dozen articles ² on individual groups of them have appeared in the BULLETIN and been reprinted, as have naturally not a few of the letters themselves. The time would seem to have come for a general survey of this correspondence. Such an attempt will, we trust, give pleasure not only to the studious reader but above all, in this commemorative volume, to him who for so many years has seen the Library's fields ripening under his care.

In modest space this attempt must admit a number of limitations. Only unprinted English letters can be discussed and quoted, and from these the quotations must be short.

¹ *Handlist of the Collection of English Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, 1928. By Moses Tyson. *Handlist of Additions . . .*, 1928-35.

² J. D. Wright, *Some Unpublished Letters to and from Dr. Johnson*, 1932. W. W. Roberts, *Charles and Fanny Burney in the Light of the New Thrale Correspondence in the J.R.L.*, 1932. M. Tyson, *A Review and other Writings of Charles Dickens*, 1934. M. Zamick, *Unpublished Letters of A. H. Hallam*, 1934. N. B. Lewis, *The Abolitionist Movement in Sheffield, 1823-33, with letters from Southey, Wordsworth . . .*, 1934. R. D. Waller, *Letters addressed to Mrs. Gaskell*, 1935. J. L. Clifford, *Further Letters of the Johnson Circle*, 1936. Also in his recent work, *Hester Lynch Piozzi (Mrs. Thrale)*, 1941, Mr. Clifford quotes constantly from this Library's MS. collection of her correspondence.

Collections already dealt with in the BULLETIN can only claim bare mention. Lesser names, among the correspondents, must yield to greater ones ; nor does a great writer's signature give importance to any trivial note he may have written. Theologians, politicians, people eminent in many spheres, crowd the larger collections ; but only when they belong to literature first and foremost can we heed them, if the article is to be an article and not a list. Our aim, in short, is literary history rather than bibliography.

Chronological order provides the framework of the survey. The Library's autograph letters in English, as the collections now stand, were virtually all written in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. The great majority lie between 1770 and 1860. Pride of place belongs to those forming part of a mass of manuscript material, acquired in 1931, which once belonged to Sir John Piozzi-Salusbury, adopted son of Dr. Johnson's friend, Mrs. Thrale, afterwards Mrs. Piozzi. In this group the letters alone exceed three thousand. Dr. Moses Tyson wrote in Volume 15 of the BULLETIN a methodical survey¹ of this whole collection, which includes twenty letters written to Mrs. Thrale by Johnson, published with notes by Mr. J. D. Wright.² In our space we can but pick out two groups for detailed presentment, the first being one of 110 letters³ written to Johnson by Mrs. Thrale between 1771 and 1784. These belong to that mature period of his life best known to readers. Already past sixty, he has completed all but two of his important literary tasks. He is domesticated with the Thrales at Streatham ; his hostess cheers him with her concern and her vivacity ; he talks to Baretti, Crutchley and Murphy, sometimes to Reynolds, Garrick and Burke. In time the Burneys, father

¹ Pp. 467-488. *Unpublished Manuscripts, Papers and Letters of Dr. Johnson, Mrs. Thrale and their Friends*, 1931. In addition to those mentioned in the text, the larger groups of letters named in Dr. Tyson's survey include 154 letters from Mrs. Piozzi to the orientalist Leonard Chappelow, with 127 in reply, and of letters to Mrs. Piozzi over 100 from Dr. Arthur Collier, 151 from Mrs. Pennington (Sophia Weston), 154 from John Gillon, a West Indies merchant, 72 from Robert Gray, afterwards Bishop of Bristol, and 161 from Marianne Francis, niece of Fanny Burney.

² See note on previous page.

³ J.R.L., Eng. MSS. 539-540.

and daughter, brighten the scene ; Mrs. Thrale took up Fanny on the success of *Evelina* in 1778. In the main though, as scenes will with the years, this one darkens—with Thrale's growing inertia and self-indulgence, with the family's many bereavements and with the break-up of Johnson's own health. But his two literary achievements of the period stand : that *Journey to the Western Isles* (1775) which should be read with the splendid series of letters to Mrs. Thrale from Scotland,¹ and the *Lives of the Poets* (1779-81), his masterwork in prose, whose proof-sheets he would sometimes hand to her at the breakfast-table.

Correspondence usually arises when Johnson is away at Bolt Court or paying summer visits in Staffordshire or Derbyshire, or when Mrs. Thrale is away at Brighton or Bath. The two friends write in styles amusingly different. Whether cheerful or gloomy, Johnson is at bottom always his sane, sententious self ; Mrs. Thrale's pen flashes over the surface of things—petulant, cajoling, witty, frivolous, all perhaps in the same letter. Sometimes we feel clearly her affection and concern for him, now and then just a lively complacency in the fact that he has grown to depend on her. "So fare well and be good, and do not quarrel with your Governess for not using the Rod enough"—this remark, from letter 30, which may be a reply to Johnson's singular letter in French² with its implications of restraint and of hypochondria, strikes after all quite an exceptional note. The attraction of this batch of Mrs. Thrale's letters resides mainly in their witty social portraiture, their pert glances at public events, and their eager allusions to Johnson himself, his friends and his doings.

The degree granted him at Oxford in April, 1775, evokes the following remark (Letter 39) : "I rejoyce in your being made Doctor in due form, and next to praising you myself I love to hear others praise you." In August, 1777, he made one of his customary summer tours. She writes (Letter 66) : "Perhaps the bad state of our affairs abroad lowers your Spirits, but go to Dr. Taylor [in Ashbourne] and he'll tell you 'tis all a Trick

¹ *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. G. Birkbeck Hill, nos. 320-339.

² For the text of this letter, and comments, see J. D. Wright, *Some Unpublished Letters to and from Dr. Johnson*, 1932.

and that we let the Americans torment us on purpose. . . . I don't value Mrs. Aston of Stowe Hill." Jealousy of Johnson's old Staffordshire friends peeps out here and elsewhere from these epistles. A remark from another (72) of September in the same year shows Mrs. Thrale to be well acquainted with Boswell's great purpose: "I am glad Mr. Boswell is with you—nothing that you say for this Week at least will be lost to Posterity." From Brighton, where she went later in the year, comes one of her most happily conceived epistles, from which we quote at greater length, to show to what droll purpose her pen sometimes flashes along (Letter 76): "It is a long way from Ashbourne to Brighton, yet you will travel it I think, for as Seward says a Man must be somewhere, and the Sea roars away so finely that the King shall say 'let him roar again, let him roar again' . . . Dr. Taylor's Cows & Bulls make a figure even in the Newspapers we read here. Dr. Delap¹ asks us every day where you are—he is never a whit nearer knowing when one has done. How very odd it is that that Man should play well at Whist. I can sit and wonder at it." Delap, it seems, is at work on one of his unfortunate dramas. (Letter 77:) "He takes it to the Bathing Machines and reads it to the roaring of the Sea, 'tis all about Hercules I hear & Dejanira." In the same letter short shrift is given to a famous personage of the time, to John Wilkes, whom their party encountered at Brighton: "I like him not, he professed himself a Lyar and an Infidel . . . such sort of Gabble from an old & decrepit Wretch . . . gave me nothing but offence so we parted." Then comes one of several amusing assurances in these letters that her husband is looking over her shoulder as she writes: "Why, says he [Thrale], these are the persons we are all running after.—Ay, quoth I, & old Satan is the Person that even they are running after, so you see clearly what good humour I am in."

With Thrale's apoplectic stroke in June, 1779, the clouds gather. His wife's bitterness comes out in a sentence from Letter 93, written from Bath: "Here's not an Apothecary's Prentice in this Town, but what can see that he's knockt down like a Cock at Shrove Tide, & all by overfeeding." Johnson's

¹ John Delap, D.D. (1725-1812), poet and dramatist.

health, too, declines ; with Letter 86 she sends a peremptory request : " Here's Dr. Burney come & says you are very ill. . . . For Goodness sake do as Dr. Lawrence would have you & pray don't be bleeding yourself & doing yourself harm." Resilient though she remains under the blows of fortune, we can well believe a passing confession in May, 1780 (Letter 96) : " I am very low-spirited for all I flash away so." In April next year Thrale is dead ; after struggle with herself and estrangement from her daughters Mrs. Thrale marries the Italian singer Piozzi ; Johnson, old and ailing, has lost his happiest refuge. On all this there is no need to dwell. Some sentences may nevertheless be given from the important last letter (no. 110) in this group, even though it was quoted by Dr. Tyson in this BULLETIN¹ in 1931. It is an answer to the letter² in which Johnson made as kind amends as he could for the former too well-known epistle voicing his first feelings of shock and anger at Mrs. Thrale's re-marriage. " Your last Letter is sweetly kind", writes Mrs. Piozzi on 15th July, 1784, ". . . Have no Fears for me, no real Fears. . . . He is a religious Man, a sober Man, and a thinking Man. . . . Accept his Esteem, my dear Sir, do. . . . I hope your Health is mending." She scored out its signature later ; but surely she wrote in earnest this plea for understanding, with its final note of concern for the well-being of her old friend, who five months later was at rest in the Abbey.

Two letters may now form a kind of appendix to this first group before we pass to the second. One,³ written by James Boswell to Henry Thrale, is missing from C. B. Tinker's collection. It is dated Edinburgh, 29th July, 1773, just before the tour of Johnson and Boswell in Scotland ; we give its salient part : " It is a most fortunate circumstance that Mr. Chambers comes north just now, as that will I hope insure me our friend Mr. Johnson. But I must once more apply to you & Mrs. Thrale to *launch* him from London, as I called it. He will return to you with a cargo of at least some *curious* things, if not

¹ Vol. 15, pp. 467-488. See note on p. 120.

² *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. G. Birkbeck Hill, no. 972.

³ Eng. MS. 542.

with *valuable* ones. You can scarcely imagine how great joy I feel in the prospect of his coming. . . ." The other letter,¹ and but a part of that, is all we can find room for here of the fifty and more this Library possesses of Arthur Murphy, that witty and temperamental Irish playwright. He had, it appears, written to Henry Thrale, whose wife had replied for him ; the occasion is of no importance. Murphy now writes from Lincoln's Inn, on 20th January, 1768 : " . . . I am glad Mr. Thrale has so Elegant a Clerk, as it gives me an opportunity of addressing myself to Mrs. Thrale. Voiture ought to be now at my Elbow to tell me what to say next. But I look round and Lord Coke stares me in the Face. Surely I am Excusable if so situated I am unable to turn one graceful Period and find myself reduced to the Necessity of saying in a Plain John-trot stile, that I am much flattered by your politeness. . . ." The culture of these words is as easy as their blarney ; more than that, we have a particular reason for remembering Murphy, one of Johnson's closest friends. Mrs. Thrale reminds Johnson, in an early letter of our main group, that Murphy " first brought us acquainted ".

The second group was written to Mrs. Thrale by Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, " queen of the Blues ". To us she is less of a literary than a social figure—a wealthy hostess, a valiant champion of the cultural status of women rather than of Shakespeare against Voltaire. Her famous essay, however, counted in its day ; her letters might count for more than they do were there fewer of them. The present unprinted batch of thirty-five² lies between 1780 and 1786 ; she is now past sixty, a widow, but still high in repute. There sounds through them the note of a friendship free with graceful compliment, recognizing at times a common bond in literature, but of a friendship also a little wary, a little prone to raillery. Mrs. Thrale, literary hostess though she might be, was after all not in the true circle of bluestockings ; what troubled their leader was that such a literary lion as Johnson lay in Mrs. Thrale's keeping. He and Mrs. Montagu had been on excellent terms until he criticised Lord Lyttleton in his *Lives of the Poets*.

¹ Eng. MS. 891.

² *Ibid.* 551.

After that, the bloom was gone from their acquaintance. Of this group of letters, the third contains Mrs. Montagu's fullest expression of her desire to win him over to her social dominion ; it is undated, but was probably written before their quarrel : " Dr. Johnson looks well, is in good spirits, delights one by his conversation, but he is very coy, & very cruel, and I am always courting him & always get a denial. I cannot but say he is very polite, but I want him to be tender." A complaint in the next letter would seem to be directed towards him : " It is provoking to see how those who write for posterity despise the admiration of their co-temporaries." This feeling must have filled the breast of many a literary host and hostess. Mrs. Montagu ends several of these letters with a request that Mrs. Thrale will transmit her formal compliments to the great man ; to one of them she adds the sprightly postscript : " I dare not trust a Rival with what I w^d say to Dr. Johnson." Can a wicked note of gladness just be heard through the figured compliment of Letter 25 ? Johnson is away : " What Serpent has tempted Dr. Johnson to wander from your Paradise ? not that cunning one who offered the Fruits of the Tree of Knowledge, because it grows in your Garden at Streatham. . . ." But however these ladies may strive with each other for the favours of greatness, one man—they agree when greatness is dead—has been unworthy of them. In Letter 2, dated March, 1786, Mrs. Montagu writes of " the very moderate degree of credit I give to all Mr. Boswell has ascribed to or repeated of Dr. Johnson ".

For the rest, this budget, though entertaining and often witty, can only receive summary treatment. Several allusions are made to the slow process of removal from the house in Hill Street, where Mrs. Montagu first won fame as a hostess, to the statelier mansion in Portman Square, with the " feather room " in it of which Cowper wrote. "*Farewell the tranquil mind*", she exclaims in Letter 23, some six months before the house-warming of Easter, 1782 : " the bustle of removal will be unpleasant to me, who had rather be in a hurricane or an earthquake than a fuss ". But just as cultured hospitality is a bluestocking's duty, to be pursued in spite of physical and mental strain, so, in their degree, are attendance at the theatre

or at a royal Drawing-room (Letter 21): “. . . We will decline a very agreeable invitation to meet Mrs. Garrick & Miss More at dinner & will attend you [at the theatre to see a tragedy by Delap]. The weather is very cold, & a modern tragedy is generally very cold, but the pleasure of the conversation between the acts will pay one for the hazard of getting cold.” (Letter 4:) “. . . We will drink their Majesties’ healths out of respect to their Virtues. . . . Keep yourself from colds & fatigue till Monday. That day we must encounter dangers, but glorious danger has its charms for noble spirits.” Only in Letter 16 is a literary judgment of any length to be found. Here Mrs. Montagu condemns a certain “picturesque tragedy” which Mrs. Thrale has lent her; its failings would seem to lie at the opposite extreme from those of Delap’s play just mentioned. In spite of “a certain spirit of poetry in it”, the author, she thinks, would do better as a painter of stage scenery than as a maker of dialogue. “However our modern tragedies abound with purple suns & scarlet moons when the State is distempered. . . . I sh^d have wept for the parting of Titus & Berenice tho’ they had never taken a morning or evening walk together.” No “pathetic fallacy” for Mrs. Montagu, no salutation of the faint dawns of Romance. Just common sense, with a modest share of the sensibility of an age that wept over *Clarissa*. We close her budget, and this Library’s Thrale correspondence, with a feeling of respect.

Henry Chorley and A. G. L’Estrange, who between them gathered much of the correspondence of Mary Russell Mitford, missed a bundle of 117 letters,¹ now in the Library. Written between 1821 and 1842, all from her famous cottage at Three Mile Cross, near Reading, they are addressed to Thomas Noon Talfourd, 63 of whose letters² in reply we also have. These come either from the Temple or from other places where legal business called him, between 1821 and 1831. A conscientious lawyer, Talfourd is best remembered as the biographer of Lamb and as the friend of many in Lamb’s circle—not often, in these days, as the author of *Ion* and other tragedies in verse. And few readers think of Miss Mitford apart from *Our Village*,

¹ Eng. MSS. 665-666.

² Eng. MS. 667.

those sketches whose colours remain bright after a century and more. Yet here are 180 letters in which the implied object of the main literary labours of both writers is poetic tragedy.

At the very time when her best-known work was appearing successfully in serial form, Miss Mitford clearly had strange ideas as to where her true talent lay. We read in the earliest of these letters (21st March, 1821): "What you say of *Our Village* is exceedingly encouraging & comfortable. I had looked on prose composition as a thing not difficult merely but impossible." Talfourd was at this time active in theatrical criticism; he long remained for Miss Mitford the good genius who would open the doors of dramatic fame for her; he sent her much detailed and rather pompous advice. Even in 1825, with *Our Village* an undoubted triumph, she declared (Letter 20): "I am sure that after four or five years passed in dramatic composition I could write a good Tragedy—but that will not happen—I shall be driven to spinning out wretched trash of novels." Her plays *Julian* and *Foscari* won a modest success. She hoped much from Talfourd's interest with Macready, who nevertheless in 1825 refused *Rienzi*, her best play. Her reproaches to him, copied and sent to Talfourd in Letter 22, prepare us to find little good said of Macready during the rest of this correspondence. The hour of Miss Mitford's short-lived triumph as a dramatist struck in October, 1828, when *Rienzi* appeared with Charles Mayne Young in its leading part. Talfourd's letters from London picture this success in detail; Drury Lane saw thirty four performances, some of them "to a very full and very elegant house"; he refers to the production as "your victory", and he makes sure that she gathers from Price, the manager, its due financial fruits. But though we read much of her later plays and of their writing, the main impression we receive is one of increasing labour. For *Otto*, in particular, Drury Lane had to wait an unconscionable time. Even when revising *Rienzi* Miss Mitford could say (Letter 29): "Though you talk of my facility I am really the slowest . . . writer in the world. . . . What looks like ease in my style is labour"—a confession which applies surely to her dramatic verse rather than to her prose.

These letters are a storehouse of facts and opinions about the theatrical world of London—and in a minor degree that of Reading—between 1820 and 1840. Yet the actor of whom we hear most is not Kean or Charles Kemble, but Cathcart, who has not found his way into the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He played much in Reading and made no sort of hit in the metropolis, yet Miss Mitford thought highly of his talents and for long hoped and schemed for his advancement. While saying and doing what he could for him, Talfourd clearly did not share her enthusiasm. He gives in Letter 27 an interesting impression of Harriet¹ Smithson, the Irish actress who in 1832 captured Paris with her playing of Juliet and Ophelia and Jane Shore, and who became the wife of Hector Berlioz. Talfourd is duly severe on her way of speaking, with “its abominable compound of Irish & French accents”. “On the other hand”, he continues, “there is a feminine delicacy in her demeanour which would absolutely charm if her voice did not break the spell, and a startling energy and rapidity of action in particular passages which dazzled & puzzled me.” Of Young in a bad hour he puts down the scornful criticism (Letter 14): “He merely walks about in an imposing dress, stands in the right place and speaks some few of the author’s words”. He can also say, in Letter 42, of Kean rousing himself from his decline to appear in December, 1829, at Drury Lane: “Kean has broken out again twenty thousand strong. . . . He is the greatest miracle of the age.”

Apart from theatrical matters, Talfourd’s epistles tell us a good deal of his growing preoccupation with his legal work, and something of his unsuccessful attempt, in 1830, to be elected Recorder of his native Reading. From Miss Mitford we naturally learn something of that selfish spendthrift her father. She is here, as elsewhere, the perfectly dutiful child; scarcely do we find a word against the man who, poor through his own recklessness, lived for many years on his daughter’s literary earnings. The severest thing she brings herself to say of him is this (Letter 37): “As far as general assertion goes, I never believe him on a point where his wishes are much interested”. It is fair, also, to state that several times these

¹ Or Henrietta.

letters reveal Dr. Mitford as helping his daughter in her wearisome theatrical negotiations. Her own ardour and courage we constantly feel, except as the dark days of her father's decline and her own come nearer, and the strain of writing for a living goes on. These words, from Letter 75, were written shortly before a pension brought her some slight respite in 1837: "No woman's constitution can stand the labour & anxiety . . . of a life of literature. It killed Mrs. Hemans & will if this relief be not obtained kill me—and then what would become of my dear father?" The buoyant Mary Mitford of *Our Village*, recognisable in the earliest of these letters, fades from them as they progress. Before they end we feel pity for the strain and the overclouding of a rare spirit that seemed born for happiness.

Two groups of miscellaneous letters, the Raffles collection ¹ and the Gaskell collection, now claim our notice. The former, much the larger, amassed by that eminent Congregational divine and acquirer of autographs Thomas Raffles of Liverpool, cannot be adequately surveyed in small space. Covering the first sixty years or so of the nineteenth century and containing autograph letters from many prominent Englishmen and Englishwomen of those times, it is a vast quarry for students of biography, church history, theology and politics, no less than for the student of literature. The Gaskell collection, a gift from the executors of Miss M. E. Gaskell, daughter of the writer of *Cranford*, covers much the same stretch of years. Out of these two repositories and a third ² we can only select for summary treatment a few letters, yet unprinted, from the chief literary pens of the time.

One fairly long letter ³ of Wordsworth, not gathered in De Selincourt's great collection, was written from Rydal Mount on 16th April, 1828, to Barron Field, that interesting wanderer, to whom Lamb's essay, *Distant Correspondents*, is addressed. Field was staying at the time in Liverpool. The poet used to consult him freely on possible improvements in his work; one

¹ This collection, a considerable part of that formed by Dr. Raffles, was purchased by Mrs. Rylands in 1891.

² Eng. MSS. 340-341.

³ Eng. MS. 355.

instance of this is found in the longer letter of 24th October in the same year (No. 829 in De Selincourt). In a recital of comings and goings and prospective visits the present letter imbeds a number of suggested alterations in certain poems. The first stanza of *Beggars* is given in this form :

She had a tall man's height or more,
No bonnet screen'd her from the heat,
A long drab-coloured cloke she wore,
A mantle reaching to her feet,
Luxuriant curls half veil'd her ample brow
Shed from beneath a cap white as the new fall'n snow.

The definitive edition alters this considerably. A version of the fourth stanza of *Simon Lee* once stood as the second ; in fixing the present order Wordsworth writes : " This position would let the reader hear of Simon in his livelier days first, which I cannot but think is better. . . ." Definitive form is also given to the third and fifth stanzas of the poem *To the Lady Fleming, on seeing the foundation preparing for the erection of Rydal Chapel, Westmoreland*.

Southey, in a letter ¹ dated 14th June, 1817, greets a friend who is probably Landor. He is abroad, he tells him, " to try what change of scene & new images of external nature might do for me "; he " arrived at Milan this morning ". He was still seeking comfort and distraction after the loss of his son Herbert in the previous year. A later epistle ² from Keswick, dated 30th April, 1837, and addressed to William Shepherd of Gateacre, near Liverpool, is more resigned in tone and an excellent example of his prose style. " Time has dealt gently with me ", he muses, " and Providence most kindly." Not only has Peel increased his pension, thus setting him above the fear of want, but " Longman has persuaded me to bring out a collective edition ³ of my poems, in monthly volumes. . . . There is a good deal to collect from miscellaneous publications and something to add. By setting this part of my house in order, I shall save my representatives some trouble & have an opportunity

¹ Eng. MS. 341.

² *Ibid.* 384.

³ This appeared, 1837-38, in 10 vols. 8vo.

of saying for myself what they could not say for me." Events made their own sad ironical comment on all this. He was soon incapable of further work, his mind broken by the prodigious toil of his literary career. Of letters by his friend Landor two may be mentioned, both short and both undated. One,¹ to an unknown recipient, describes Landor's mother's estate, Ipsley Court in Warwickshire; another² makes a minute correction in his idyl, *The Prayer of the Bees for Alciphron*, which was first published in *Hood's Magazine* for April, 1845.

One interesting letter of Thomas Campbell³ found a place, ruthlessly abbreviated, in William Beattie's *Life and Letters* of that poet, issued in 1850. Dated 22nd April, 1820, it is addressed from Sydenham to a Mrs. Fletcher, a literary hostess and advocate's wife in Edinburgh. After harping disconsolately on his bad health and his anxiety for his family, Campbell passes on to his project of a visit to Germany. "I have been attending to the language", he writes, with his own contemptuousness, "in long hours when I had strength for nothing better." The chief attraction for him would seem to be A. W. von Schlegel, then at Bonn: "he is a delightfully original being for all his cloud-capt metaphysics." Alas! later epistles of the poet's from Germany record that Schlegel's charm palled rather soon, the trouble being not so much the metaphysics in themselves as that professor's habit of delivering lectures outside as well as inside the classroom. Of a greater compatriot of Campbell this Library possesses a few letters yet unprinted—none, unfortunately, of any immense importance. Even Grierson omitted by design from Scott's correspondence certain items, of no literary interest, bearing on his own and his publishers' financial troubles. The Library has two such letters,⁴ also a short note,⁵ undated, from Scott to his mother in George Street, Edinburgh. He tells her of a "small reinforcement of medicines" which is to reach her and hopes she will find it "agreeable to her constitution".

The ageing Francis Jeffrey sends an attractive and confiding epistle⁶ from Berwick to Campbell's correspondent,

¹ Eng. MS. 379.

² *Ibid.* 341.

³ *Ibid.* 351.

⁴ *Ibid.* 340 and 734.

⁵ *Ibid.* 734.

⁶ *Ibid.* 379.

Mrs. Fletcher of Edinburgh. Its occasion is merely an apology ; he and his wife cannot visit her in Kendal, her abode at the time ; they are on their way to London in a snowstorm which he makes us feel : " Our breath froze hard on the inside glasses of the carriage." A lament for an old colleague on the *Edinburgh Review* pins down this undated letter to 1845 : " Alas for poor Sydney ¹—and poor Bobus ² gone swiftly after him ! What havoc Death has been making among the Seniors since last Xmas ! " Jeffrey also alludes modestly to those Thursday and Friday evenings at his house which were notable literary reunions of the 'forties in Edinburgh : " My friends have been very kind to me in coming to my simple hap-hazard little assemblies." One would not guess from this amiable letter that Jeffrey's pen had ever been feared ; the letter of an older journalist leaves room for no such misapprehension in his case. William Cobbett writes from Ross-on-Wye to Thomas Smith, a Liverpool bookseller who made himself useful to the fierce old publicist by transmitting parcels for him to America. The fourth of June, 1830, saw the birth of this epistle.³ As its lines roll on we picture Cobbett's enemies going down like so many ninepins. Burdett, for example, is vanquished in the first short paragraph ; then we read : " You will find the next *Register* ⁴ a stinger ; and the next after . . . one of the most interesting that I ever wrote." In this number, apparently, Huskisson is laid low. " I want this paper to be re-published, as quickly as possible, at New York ; in a pamphlet, mind. How can we insure this ? . . . It is the *finest blow* that the Borough-villains have got for years. . . ." We see him rubbing his hands with glee as he bursts out, before his " yours faithfully ", into the final cry : " What sport I have with these fools and rogues ! "

Sport of a less violent but light-hearted kind is to be found in a letter ⁵ written on 24th May, 1849, from the Albany,

¹ Sydney Smith, 1771-1845.

² Robert Percy Smith, 1770-1845, his brother, nicknamed " Bobus ".

³ Eng. MS. 375.

⁴ Cobbett's *Weekly Political Register*, written mainly by Cobbett himself, lasted from 1802 to 1835.

⁵ Eng. MS. 380.

London, by Macaulay to his niece Margaret. "I am glad", he says, "to hear that, what with the hawthorns in the hedges and what with the trinkets in the bazaars, you are leading a pleasant life. . . . Eddis has all but finished my portrait. Mamma thinks it very like. I hope it is like: for I appear as a very meek, gentle, smiling person. My other effigies by no means do justice to my moral qualities. In Richmond's drawing I look extremely sensual, in Parke's bust extremely impudent, and, in Maschetti's medallion, which I gave you, extremely sulky. . . . Eddis has seized the truly seraphic expression of my countenance. . . ." For art-criticism of a different sort we may turn to a brief undated note¹ sent by Ruskin to someone who has asked him to pronounce on a problematic Turner. "I do not think it is a Turner", he replies; but he refuses to commit himself hastily, and makes a confession: "I never yet—as far as I know—declared a drawing to be Turner's which was not; but I have twice declared drawings not to be Turner's which *were*. I want to get another opinion about it. . . ." Another letter² of Ruskin, sent to F. O. Ward, and belonging to the early 'forties since it refers to *Modern Painters* as anonymous, voices well the conservative strain in the future apostle of social reform: "He [the author] has an infinite horror of novelties *as such*, and though perhaps admitting that certain mushrooms may be innocent if well selected, thinks the *species* generally poisonous."

Closing at last these miscellaneous collections, we take up as a final sheaf the Library's English MS. 336, which contains twenty-three letters of Ruskin's master Thomas Carlyle. As wholes the great majority of them remain unprinted.³ They fall into three groups. The first one of four letters is written in 1820 from Mainhill, his father's farm in Annandale, to Matthew Allen, an asylum doctor in York. The young Carlyle in these days does tutoring and writes in the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*. He had expressed himself scornfully about Dr. Allen three years before, after hearing in Kirkcaldy certain phrenological

¹ Eng. MS. 383.

² *Ibid.* 341.

³ No. 8 is printed by R. H. Shepherd in *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of T. Carlyle*, 1881, vol. 2, pp. 96-97. Of the four letters written in 1820 a few sentences are quoted by D. A. Wilson in *Carlyle till Marriage*, 1923.

lectures delivered by that disciple of Gall and Spurzheim.¹ "Spurzheim has demonstrated nothing", he wrote, the Carlylean thump of the fist already audible, "*si populus vult decipi decipiatur*". But time has brought a change; Allen is now a friend who may improve his prospects for him. "Come and visit me", writes Allen; but Carlyle has "no money to spend on travelling". In September of this year the asylum physician offers him the tutorship of a young man advised to travel "on account of bodily and mental weakness". Anxiously Carlyle enquires: "What kind of weakness? If it were of a kind needing constant attendance and sympathy . . . no money would be enough." Nevertheless, in October he pays his first visit to England, to York; but declines the tutorship on closer acquaintance with the young man. These four letters, rather wordy and self-engrossed, and full of a natural anxiety about his career, form an interesting addition to those already printed from the pen of a Carlyle as yet young and unknown.

The other letters belong mainly to the 'forties, the longest one in the second group being written from Chelsea, on 3rd November, 1848, to William Maccall, a Unitarian minister whom both Carlyle and J. S. Mill befriended. It refers to Maccall's translation of Spinoza's *Tractatus Politicus*. Of the translation Carlyle mostly approves, but he thinks the appended preface "too angry, emphatic, controversial". The last group is a pleasant sheaf of eight letters to Charles Henry Cooper,² author of *Annals of Cambridge*, a scholar who helped him not a little in the quarrying of facts for his *Cromwell*. We feel in these epistles the urgency of the work demanded by the book's second edition. Carlyle thanks Cooper for "your valuable Parcel of Books", "your lucid copies & comments"; he is constantly thankful and usually "in great haste" as they settle point after point. [16th January, 1846:] Will Cooper help him to distinguish between a Sir John and a Sir Roger Burgoyne? His "miserable little Baronetage" is no good. [22nd January:]

¹ See his letter of 31st March, 1817, to R. Mitchell in *Early Letters of T. Carlyle*, ed. C. E. Norton, 1886.

² The whole collection of Carlyle's letters in Eng. MS. 336 belonged formerly to Cooper.

“ Your reference to Wood concerning Downhall’s death is correct to the letter. . . . We have now completely managed Downhall.” [20th March :] “ I have received your Ely papers, still in time. . . . A business of endless trouble : but you will find the Book a little improved, and not fail here and there to see traces of your own labour in it.” [21st June :] “ I yesterday marked for you at the Bookseller’s a Copy of the Second Edition of *Cromwell*, which I have now at last happily got off my hands.” These letters show us a reasonable Carlyle, glad in his work ; they also give us examples of his easy, everyday prose, too intent on its task to bother with Immensities and Eternities.

We are at the end of these ingatherings from the Library’s store of English letters. The survey has been necessarily condensed, possibly arbitrary as well, from the constant need of deciding what to take and what to leave. Many writers—some great, the least of them notable—have been heard in brief snatches of epistolary converse with their fellows. Many a fact, many an opinion, in such a mass of correspondence may fall into its right place in some scholar’s structure of research—literary, historical, biographical or whatever else it may be. As his mind glances back over these letter-writers, a librarian may well feel possessed by that mood which Southey has voiced in *The Scholar* :

My days among the dead are passed.

But the mood need have nothing of the sepulchral in it. To the poet, and he was a scholar too, all these dead are alive :

My never failing friends are they,
With whom I converse day by day.

Some of them hail from the time of stamps and envelopes, of “ yours faithfully ” and the like ; some from days of seals and franks, when a correspondent had the honour to be your humble and obedient servant. Some puzzle the eye with scrawl such as Wordsworth or Scott wrote in their hastier moments, others refresh it with a neat meticulous script like Southey’s, or the firm, clear penwork of Mrs. Thrale. There, anyway, in our collection, all their words lie ; ready for any awakening, like

that of the bones in Ezekiel, to which the student can conjure them. Or let Carlyle, so recently in our thoughts, pronounce on them his blessing :

“The true Past departs not, nothing that was worthy in the Past departs ; no Truth or Goodness realised by man ever dies, or can die ; but is all still here, and, recognised or not, lives and works through endless changes.”

THE BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS OF SCIPIO LE SQUYER, DEPUTY CHAMBERLAIN OF THE EXCHEQUER (1620-59).

By F. TAYLOR,

KEEPER OF WESTERN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

THE Deputy Chamberlains of the Exchequer in the seventeenth century are, with the possible exceptions of Agarde at the beginning and Le Neve at the end, little more than names, and the extensive collections they made from the records in their charge have for the most part been either neglected or dismissed as being merely copies of material now more conveniently available in print. There is, nevertheless, much of interest and even importance in these collections for the student of the public records, and they often throw considerable light both on the careers of the Deputy Chamberlains themselves and on the historical scholarship of the day. Perhaps the best-known series is that in the Public Record Office known as "Agarde's Indexes", but this is paralleled by another, similar in extent and nature, now in the John Rylands Library,¹ for which it was acquired by Dr. Guppy in 1915. The latter is associated with Scipio Le Squyer, a close friend of Agarde and a Deputy Chamberlain for nearly forty years. Squyer's life has been dealt with elsewhere,² and it is sufficient to note here that he was a Devonshire man, born in 1579; that, after spending four years (1599-1603) as a student at New Inn, an Inn of Chancery affiliated to the Middle Temple, he became marshal to

¹ Listed by R. Fawtier, *Hand-List of Additions to the Collection of Latin MSS. in the John Rylands Library* (1921), pp. 15-21, where (p. 19) for "See MSS. 221, 237" read "MSS. 224, 252."

² Pp. 12-18 of F. Taylor, *An Early Seventeenth-Century Calendar of Records Preserved in Westminster Palace Treasury*, 1939 (reprinted from the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, vol. 23). Squyer is not in the *D.N.B.*

John Doddridge, a position he retained until Doddridge, as Sir John and a Justice of the King's Bench, died in 1628; that he was appointed a Deputy Chamberlain for life on 29th November, 1620; was admitted to Gray's Inn in August, 1627, and occurs as a Justice of the Peace for the City and Liberty of Westminster in 1656; and that, as "Senior Chamberlain of the Court of Receipt in the Exchequer", he died in September, 1659, and was buried in the Abbey cloisters. Incidentally, Pepys considered applying for the position vacated by his death.¹

Squyer's energies seem to have been devoted almost entirely to the preparation of calendars and other aids for succeeding keepers and for those wishing to consult the public records. His interests in this direction are further shown by a grant to him in 1627 of an extra allowance of ten pounds for his "extraordinary service and charges in sorting, ordering and digesting" the contents of the Westminster Treasuries,² and by the fact that he drew up an account of the duties and prerogatives of the Deputy Chamberlains and of the records in their charge.³ He rarely appeared in print, and when he did so it was indirectly, as the result of placing his labours at the disposal of others. Dugdale, for example, in his *History of Warwickshire*,⁴ acknowledges his indebtedness to "my singular friend Mr. Scipio Squyer, now one of the Vice-Chamberlains in the Exchequer, a gentleman of great knowledge in Antiquities and a special furtherer of this worke". Similarly, part of his unprinted "Treatise concerning the nobilitie according to the lawe of England" was consulted by Guillim for his *Display of Heraldry* later in the century; this manuscript, which afterwards came into the possession of Le Neve, is now in the Folger Shakespeare

¹ 7th March, 1660: "[I] went to Westminster to my office, whither nothing to do, but I did discourse with Mr. Falconbridge about Le Squire's place and had his consent to get it if I could. I afterwards in the Hall met with W. Simons, who put me in the best way how to get it done" (*Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. H. B. Wheatley, i. 84). Simons was Clerk of the Council and Falconbridge a Deputy Chamberlain.

² Palgrave, *The Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of H.M.'s Exchequer*, iii. 452.

³ Printed from P.R.O., S.P. 14/180, no. 99, in Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-116.

⁴ 1656 edn., p. 667.

Library at Washington.¹ Another collection, which Squyer made in 1607, of coats of arms of the principal families of England has frequently been consulted by antiquaries, and a number of copies of it are extant ;² the original contains notes in the hand of Dr. Jeremiah Milles, Dean of Exeter, at the sale of whose library it was acquired by the British Museum.³ Sir Peter Leycester also drew on one of his transcripts, for in his *Historical Antiquities* (1673) he prints a copy of "Cheshire at Large out of the Greater Domesday-Book" which Squyer had made in 1649 ;⁴ the original transcript, or a copy of it, later found its way into the Towneley Collection at Burnley.⁵ There can be little doubt that many instances will be found in unpublished letters and papers of seventeenth-century scholars of assistance given by Squyer either by virtue of his position or through his friendly offices, for at a time when the public records were less easily consulted than they are to-day the archive knowledge of the Deputy Chamberlains, whether given personally⁶ or through their manuscript calendars, must have been in constant demand. The valuable assistance they rendered to the scholarship of their day has perhaps not always been fully appreciated.⁷ Many volumes, now widely scattered, testify to

¹ See the description in S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance MSS. in the United States and Canada*, p. 324.

² They are listed in *Trans. Devonshire Assoc.*, xxiii (1891), pp. 164-166.

³ B.M. Add. MS. 14262.

⁴ "A Transcript of Cheshire at Large out of the Greater Domesday-Book Remaining on Record in the Tally-Office at Westminster. . . . According as the same was transcribed by Mr. Squire from the Record itself, A.D. 1649," printed at London in 1672 and annexed to Leycester's *Historical Antiquities* (1673), pp. 395-436. Part of a transcript of Domesday Book relating to Yorkshire "written by the hand and attested by Mr. Scipio l'Esquire" is in B.M. Harleian MS. 1499 (no. 111).

⁵ "A true coppie of Domesdaie sub titulo Cestrencire, transcribed by Mr. Squire in anno 1649 and exam'd by Mr. William Dugdale", in Towneley MS., vol. xi (see *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 4th Rep., App., p. 408).

⁶ For personal assistance given by Squyer to Dugdale and Sir Simonds D'Ewes, see Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 15 and n. 1.

⁷ An appreciation of the activities of Agarde and other Deputy Chamberlains among the records of the King's Bench is given by Professor G. O. Sayles in *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Edward I*, vol. 2 (Selden Soc. 57), pp. xi-xiv ; Squyer is mentioned *ibid.*, p. xiii, n. 7. Professor Sayles notes that the first time the rolls of the court of King's Bench under Edward I were

their labours in "sorting, ordering and digesting" the records in their charge. "Agarde's Indexes" at the Public Record Office and the collection in the John Rylands Library, which we may refer to as "Squyer's Indexes", are two outstanding examples. "Squyer's Indexes" consist of seventy-eight manuscript volumes, the majority containing carefully indexed abstracts and calendars, made by various officers, of records formerly deposited in the Treasuries at Westminster and in the Tower. Some twenty of these are wholly or partly in the hand of Squyer, to whom the bulk of the volumes originally belonged. Others, not in this collection but of a similar nature, were formerly in his library and are listed below.¹ Such collections may be regarded as to a great extent counterparts of the modern series of printed *Calendars*, and their existence goes far to explain the apparent ease with which seventeenth-century scholars moved among the scattered and almost inexhaustible mass of the public records. An anonymous student who "often resorted to Mr. Arthur Agarde" between 1606 and 1610 bears witness to this: "The said Mr. Agarde hath latelie takenn greate paynes in abridging the substance of many of the said recordes in his custodie, and ingrossed the same in bookes of velym, reduceinge the same into sheires, yeeres and termes, a method verie easie and redy for any mann to find the recorde, and his booke without searching the recorde will shewe the substance of the whole recorde, which much easeth the searche".² Many others, including Ashmole³ and Dodsworth, made use of the collections of the Deputy Chamberlains. Among the Dodsworth manuscripts in the Bodleian, for example, are notes from "Mr. Bradshawe's abstracts of the pleas of the tyme of King John,

systematically perused was by Agarde in 1588. His abstracts of cases from these rolls in the time of Edward I and Edward II are "printed exactly as he made them in the *Placitorum Abbreviatio* of 1811 (the editors themselves did not look at a single original roll)" (Sayles, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, Selden Soc. 58, p. lxxxix).

¹ In the Manuscript section of the appended "Kalendar of my bookes", nos. 488-699 *passim*. Certain of these are specifically mentioned by Squyer as being his own compilations, e.g. nos. 562, 602, 659.

² From a memorandum in Bodl. MS. Rawlinson 704.

³ See, e.g., Bodl. MS. Ashmole 860, ff. 161, 186 (notes from a "yellow booke" in the Exchequer in Agarde's hand).

which booke is kept in the Treasury att Westminster";¹ notes from collections made, from 1591, by the under-chamberlains, under Bradshaw's supervision, of fines and pleas, temp. Richard I and John;² extracts from a book of collections of records made by Agarde;³ and notes from a calendar by Squyer of De Banco rolls, 1-7 Edward II.⁴ Le Neve, himself a distinguished antiquary and a Deputy Chamberlain, included in his library copies of "Mr. Agard's Book of Abstracts of all the Leagues between England and foreign princes remaining in the Court of the Receipt"⁵ and of "the bundles of escheats in the Tower of Devonshire families, done by Scipio Lesquire, 1617".⁶ In addition to making the records more easily available by providing abstracts and transcripts the Deputy Chamberlains further facilitated the task of their successors and of other students by compiling inventories of the contents of various repositories. These, too, were widely copied, and examples will be found, to quote only three instances, among "Agarde's Indexes"⁷ and in B.M. Harleian MS. 94 and Bodleian MS. Dugdale 48. Four occur among the "Squyer Indexes": "A note of the bookes [sc. manuscripts] in the Cheste at Westminster ex parte Rememeratoris Regis";⁸ an inventory of certain presses in an unspecified repository, perhaps the Tower;⁹ a list of "Forests in y^e Chest";¹⁰ and a calendar of records preserved in Westminster Palace Treasury. The last, contained in two manuscripts,¹¹ one partly in Squyer's

¹ Dodsworth 141, f. 79. John Bradshaw was Deputy Chamberlain from 1615 to (?) 1631.

² *Ibid.* 97, ff. 1, 11, 16, 17, 61.

³ *Ibid.* 39, f. 85.

⁴ *Ibid.* 153, ff. 1 *sqq.*

⁵ Bernard, *Cat. Lib. MSS. Angliae et Hiberniae* (1697), ii, 3513.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 3517.

⁷ See Scargill-Bird's list. A calendar of treaties and other instruments relating to Scotland, compiled by Agarde, was printed by Ayloffe in 1774 (*Calendars of the Ancient Charters*, etc., pp. 287-325). For other calendars of treaties, see Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 42, n. 7.

⁸ Ryl. Lat. MS. 306, ff. 7-7^v. Included are the "Liber de terris Regis vocat. Domesday" and the "Liber Rubeus".

⁹ Ryl. Lat. MS. 279, ff. 440-443.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 319, f. 136.

¹¹ Ryl. Lat. MSS. 322, 323. Another copy, in a number of unidentified hands, is in "Agarde's Ind.", vol. 45. The three were collated and edited in 1939 (Taylor, *op. cit.*).

hand, the other containing corrections and additions by him, is of particular interest as being a copy ¹ of a detailed inventory of this Treasury compiled by Agarde which has been missing from the end of the seventeenth century, since which time only a considerably abbreviated version ² has been available. The value placed by contemporaries on even the abbreviated version is shown by the fact that it was printed in 1631 ³ and that at least eight manuscript copies ⁴ of it dating from the same century are extant.

The Rylands "Indexes" also contribute to our knowledge of the circle of scholars of which Squyer was a member. It is known that his position and activities brought him into contact with Cotton, Dugdale, Sir Simonds D'Ewes and Ashmole,⁵ and his collections include an armorial in the hand of D'Ewes ⁶ and a volume of the Fountains Abbey cartulary which he loaned to Dugdale.⁷ There can be little doubt that he was acquainted, too, with Camden, Selden, Dodsworth, Speed and Spelman, to name only a few of the more outstanding frequenters of the record repositories at Westminster or of the adjacent library at Cotton House. In view of the fact that Bacon was often in Cotton's library it is interesting to note that Squyer had in his possession part of the original manuscript of the *Advancement of Learning*.⁸ Squyer's own activities there are reflected in his collections, which include a number of extracts from Cottonian manuscripts. Among these are eleven pages of notes from

¹ With a few minor differences owing to additions or transfers of individual records.

² Commonly known as Agarde's *Compendium*; printed by Palgrave, *op. cit.*, vol. ii.

³ Still further abbreviated, in [Thomas Powell], *The Repertorie of Records* (1631), pp. 28-33.

⁴ See Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 10 and n. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁶ Ryl. Lat. MS. 328.

⁷ *Ibid.* 224. Inserted at the front is a note in Dugdale's hand: "This is one of the Lieger-bookes of the Abby of Fountaines. The booke I desire is the Lieger-booke of the priorie of St. Nicholas neere Exeter." Apparently the volume was lent by mistake. For the Exeter cartulary see below in this paragraph.

⁸ No. 696 in the list below. Also printed copies of Bacon's *Essays, Wisdom of the Ancients*, and *History of Henry the Seventh* (nos. 458, 171 and 196 below, respectively).

"ye liger booke of Christchurch de Twyneham"¹ and forty-two pages of extracts from the cartulary of the Priory of St. Nicholas at Exeter.² The latter was afterwards given to him by Cotton and is included in the calendar of his library drawn up in 1632.³ In addition he compiled a list of cartularies owned by Cotton.⁴ Further light is thrown on the interchange of manuscript materials among scholars of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century by a note-book of Agarde which belonged to Squyer; not surprisingly, for the two were close friends.⁵ This volume⁶ contains extracts from various manuscripts and records which Agarde consulted between 1592 and 1614, each preceded by a note of its owner and the date it was examined. Among those from whom he borrowed were Cotton, Camden, Spelman, Francis Tate, Sir Walter Cope, Richard St. George, Robert Treswell (Somerset Herald), Lord Lumley, Richard Conok (Auditor of the Duchy of Cornwall), Thomas Wardegar (Registrar of the Bishop of Hereford), Sir Thomas Thyne and Augustine Steward, as well as many lesser-known figures.

As a result of his removal in the Spring of 1632 from St. Martin-in-the-Fields to a house which he had had erected in Long Acre,⁷ Squyer began the compilation of a list of his books and manuscripts; this is printed in full below.⁸ His library was an extensive one and adequate comment on its contents

¹ Ryl. Lat. MS. 319, ff. 47 *sqq.* The first cartulary of Twyneham, compiled in 1312 (Cotton MS. Tib. D. VI), was much injured in the fire of 1731. Five pages of excerpts, of no special importance, from another cartulary of the Priory are in Cotton MS. Claud. A. VIII.

² Ryl. Lat. MS. 319, ff. 75 *sqq.*

³ See below, no. 664 and note.

⁴ Ryl. Lat. MS. 319, f. 11. On f. 11^v he extends this to include cartularies owned by others.

⁵ In his Will Squyer asked to be buried in the Abbey cloisters "neere unto the monument of my auncient freind Arthur Agard" (Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 17). See also below, no. 595 and note.

⁶ Ryl. Lat. MS. 318. It is in Agarde's hand throughout and his name occurs on f. 136^v where it is stated that certain excerpts from a Register of Osney Abbey were made "per me Arthurum Agarde", 6th April, 1596. On f. 60 a Register of Tutbury Priory, co. Staff., is mentioned as being "penes fratrem meum Willelmum Agarde, armigerem, de Foston in com. Derby . . . ex dono meo". For similar volumes see B.M. Stowe MSS. 527-531.

⁷ See Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁸ From Ryl. Lat. MS. 319. It includes books left by his late wife (nos. 132-140) and five items (700-704) purchased from "George" in 1639.

could only develop into a general discussion of the literary background of the Elizabethan-Stuart upper middle-class.¹ Comprising over seven hundred items,² it is divided into two main sections, Printed Books (nos. 1-487) and Manuscripts (488-699), each with its own subject subdivisions. In the former the two largest groups by far, Theology (1-131) and History (141-272), are roughly equal in numbers. "Poesy" (357-440), Morality (441-487), Law (287-319), Dictionaries and Grammars (320-347), Medicine (273-286) and Herbals (348-356) follow in that order of size. Squyer was well equipped with the standard works of his day in most of these groups,³ although it would not be difficult to indicate some important omissions, as Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*,⁴ Foxe's "ever-present" *Actes and Monuments*, Hooker's *Ecclesiasticall Politie*,⁵ Lyly's *Euphues*, or the Herbals of Gerard and Turner.⁶ As might be expected he had copies of many of the better-known works, often in translation, of Latin, Greek, French, Italian and Spanish writers, including Cicero, Ovid, Virgil, Homer, Plutarch, Tacitus, Montaigne, Du Bartas, Boccaccio, Guicciardini and Monardes. But perhaps the most interesting feature of the printed-book section is the large proportion of works in English, and notably those listed under the heading "Poesy". The authors listed there include, to give only a selection, Chaucer, Lydgate, Skelton, Shakespeare,⁷ Spenser, Jonson, Drayton, Sidney, Marlowe, Samuel Rowlands, Kyd, and Wither. Of the Manuscripts the majority relate, directly or indirectly, to his work among the records at Westminster⁸ or his general antiquarian activities; a few deserve separate mention, as a manuscript of Chaucer's

¹ On this subject cf. L. B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (1935).

² See next paragraph.

³ E.g. in History: works of Holinshed, Camden, Selden, Stow, Speed, Higden, Grafton, Bacon, Raleigh, Weever, etc.

⁴ Cf. no. 146 for a probable translation by Hakluyt.

⁵ No. 619 is described vaguely as "Hooker", but this is in the MS. section.

⁶ Squyer was apparently interested in gardening. Notes on his trees and flowers occur in Ryl. Lat. 319, ff. 65-66. Among those from whom he purchased plants, etc., were "Chamberlen y^e Temple gardner", and "y^e gardner at Clements Inne".

⁷ See nos. 423, 417.

⁸ Cf. particularly nos. 563, 640, 642, 645, 650.

Tales,¹ Journal of the Black Prince,² and a number of "lieger-books" of religious houses.³ Also included are two manuscript translations of his own, one of a "Life and Death of Edward II", the other of one of Fisher's Psalms.⁴ Two or three items are mentioned as having been lent.⁵ It should be added that many of the volumes in the Rylands' Squyer Collection which undoubtedly belonged to him cannot be identified in the list, nor is a (printed) copy of *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, which he owned in 1609,⁶ included.

The original list was begun in April, 1632, but a number of items, also in his hand, have been added later; how much later is not known, save that it must have been before September, 1659. Owing to the hurried writing of the entries made in 1632 and the haphazard manner in which the additions were incorporated, an attempt to distinguish between the two with any completeness has had to be abandoned. Certain titles occur twice.⁷ Were these all among the printed books it would suggest merely that he had two copies of some works; in a number of cases, however, one title is in the printed-book section and the other among the manuscripts.⁸ It would not be unusual for a library of this time to include manuscript copies of even lengthy printed works, but on one occasion a cartulary is entered twice.⁹ On the other hand, Squyer evidently checked his list, for in three cases¹⁰ he has struck through a repeated title, once adding "ante" against it. The fact that most entries have a dot at the side where he ran his pen down the columns also shows that he made a check. Accordingly the list is printed here exactly as it stands in the manuscript; cross-references are given for all repeated

¹ No. 599.

² No. 536.

³ Cf. nos. 544, 615-617, 663-665.

⁴ Nos. 697, 607.

⁵ As nos. 191 (William Wray), 203 (Mr. Harbet), 690 (Mr. Holborn), none of them to well-known persons. For other friends of his mentioned in the list see nos. 350 (Mr. Castell), 674 (Mr. St. John).

⁶ See *The Huth Library: A Catalogue*, 1880, iv, p. 1339.

⁷ E.g. nos. 82, 86, 126, 212, 225, 266 and those given at the beginning of the next note.

⁸ See nos. 524-526, 529-534, 540-541, 549, 597, 614. It is possible that certain duplicates may have strayed among the manuscripts, for manuscripts are found among the printed books (see nos. 1, 273, 283, 430).

⁹ See nos. 617, 664.

¹⁰ See the notes to nos. 156, 270, 432.

titles. Squyer's titles are brief and are often given alone, without author or date.¹ But a comparatively large number are sufficiently distinctive to enable them to be identified with certainty or fair certainty; other identifications are necessarily conjectural. In all these cases reference has been made, where possible, to the *Short Title Catalogue*, the number in which is given, in italics and within square brackets, either immediately following the item or, where it has been considered necessary to cite a title more at length, in the footnotes. All other additions by the editor (e.g. an author's name) are also enclosed in square brackets.

[PRINTED BOOKS.]²

DIVINITY.

- | | |
|--|--|
| [1] An old manuscript Bible in folio. | [12] Hall's Workes. [12635 sqq.] |
| [2] A Bible in folio in the Latin print. | [13] Augustine, De ciuitate Dei. English. [916 sq.] |
| [3] A great old book by Bromyard, a monke. ³ | [14] Dr. White's reply to Fisher ye Iesuite. [25382. Cf. 130 inf.] |
| [4] Opera Theologica Sadelis. ⁴ | [15] A seruice book, in folio. |
| [5] Hiperius ⁵ in Romanos et Corinthos. | [16] Kinge's lectures [upon Jonas. 14976 sqq.]. |
| [6] Gualtherus ⁶ in Isaiaam. | [17] 4 Friers' recantation. ⁸ |
| [7] Faber ⁷ in epistolas Pauli. | [18] Sermon of iustefyeng faith. |
| [8] Erasmus on the New Testament. 2 parts and volum[e]s. [2854.] | [19] Sermon: What went ye out to see, etc. |
| [9] Caluin upon Iob. [4444 sqq.] | [20] Atheisme. |
| [10] Bp. [of] Cant. Answer to Dr. Gardiner. [5991 sq.] | [21] Look beyond Luther [by Richard Bernard. 1956 sq.]. |
| [11] Perkins his Workes. [19646 sqq.] | [22] Ogeluie the Jesuit's arraignment. ⁹ |
| | [23] Drurye's arraignment. [7261.] |

¹ Only for nos. 143, 262, 700-704 does he give a price. No. 665 is stated to have been "bought of Turpin".

² Title: "A kalender of my bookes taken the 14th of Aprill 1632 when I sett them up in my study in Longacre" (Lat. MS. 319, f. 103). I take this opportunity of thanking my colleagues Mr. Guthrie Vine and Mr. Thomas Murgatroyd for generous assistance with some of the more obscure items in this list; they are not, of course, responsible for my conjectures or gaps.

³ John Bromyard, *Summa Predicantium*, 1485, etc.

⁴ Antoine La Roche de Chandieu, called Sadeel.

⁵ Andreas Gerardus (Hyperius).

⁶ Rodolphus Gualtherus.

⁷ Jacobus Faber.

⁸ Query *The voluntarie recantation of foure learned men*, 1615 [20793].

⁹ John Spotiswood, *A true relation of the proceedings against J. Ogilvie, a Jesuit*, 1615 [23104].

- [24] Sermon: Dr. Bargraue to the Parlement. [1415.]
- [25] An answer to Howlet.¹
- [26] Of the second comming of Christ. Rogers.²
- [27] Laurence's Golden Trompe. [15325. Cf. 107 *inf.*]
- [28] Brisset's Apology. [3791 or 3792.]
- [29] Romish practises for rebellion.
- [30] Bolton, Of true happines. [3228 *sqq.*]
- [31] Service book, in quarto.
- [32] An answer to scandalous papers [by Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. 4895].
- [33] Anatomy of Mortality [by George Strobe. 23364 *sq.*].
- [34] Broughton's Controversies.³
- [35] Causaboni⁴ responsio Card. Peronio.
- [36] Dr. King's sermon at Hampton Court. [14974 *sq.*]
- [37] Musculus on the Psalms.⁵
- [38] Sasbout⁶ super epistolas Pauli.
- [39] Conciliatio patrum. [Cf. 131 *inf.*]
- [40] D^r. Sutcliue, de vera ecclesia. 2 volum[e]s. [23455.]
- [41] Crist's teares over Jerusalem.⁷
- [42] Of oathes.
- [43] Marloret on y^e Reuelation. [17408. Marlorat.]
- [44] Dionisius Carthusianus,⁸ de 4 novissimis.
- [45] Super orationes dominicas in diebus festorum.
- [46] Dispositio epistolarum diebus Dominicis. 2 parts.
- [47] Enarratio super Evangelium eisdem diebus.
- [48] Anatomy of Sinne. [565. Anonymous.]
- [49] Markes of salvation.
- [50] Crisostome on the Psalms.
- [51] De quatuor novissimis. [Cf. 44 *sup.*]
- [52] Latin testament.
- [53] D^r. Donne's Deuotions. [7033 *sqq.*]
- [54] Speth super Psalmos.⁹
- [55] Sermon: D^r. Andrewes on y^e Passion.¹⁰
- [56] A Reuelation of the Reuelation. [Probably 3755. By Thomas Brightman.]
- [57] Series causarum salutis et damnationis.¹¹

¹ Apparently John Howlet, pseud. (i.e. Robert Parsons).

² *Of the ende of this world, and second comming of Christ*, by Sheltoo à Geveren, tr. by Thomas Rogers, 1577, etc. [11804 *sqq.*].

³ Presumably Hugh Broughton, but query the work.

⁴ *Sic I. Casauboni ad epistolam Cardinalis Perronii responsio*, 1612.

⁵ The commentary of Wolfgang Musculus, 1618.

⁶ Adamus Sasbout.

⁷ Either Thomas Nash's work of that name, 1593, etc. [18366 *sqq.*], or *Christ's tears over Jerusalem, or a caveat for England* [1625], [14543].

⁸ D. de Leeuwis. Cf. 51 *inf.*

⁹ Andreas Spethe, 1596.

¹⁰ Either his (i.e. Lancelot Andrewes') *The copie of the sermon preached on Good Friday last* [6 Ap. 1604] *before the Kings Maiestie* [597 *sq.*] or an extract from his *XCVI sermons* [606 *sqq.*], in which are two other Good Friday sermons, 25th March, 1597, and 29th March, 1605. In all three cases the running title is "Of the Passion".

¹¹ Probably William Perkins, *Armilla aurea, id est, Miranda series causarum et salutis et damnationis iuxta verbum Dei*, 1590, etc. [19655 *sqq.*].

- [58] Reall presence. Sr. H. Lynde.¹ [77] Index biblicus, etc.
 [59] Weston against Dr. Featly.² [78] Manuele⁷ Catholicorum.
 [60] Piscator's Chatechisme. [Appar- [79] Bellarmine's Sicknes and Deth
 ently 19960.] [by Edward Coffin. 5476 sq.].
 [61] Sermon at Bp. Potter's consecra- [80] God's loue to Isralites. [Cf. 116
 tion. [20134.] inf.]
 [62] Animæ tuba. [81] Perkin's Estate of a Christian.⁸
 [63] L'Ombre de Caluin. [82] Fisceri precatones. [2994 sqq.
 [64] London's lamentation.³ Cf. 101 inf.]
 [65] Glas for married folkes [by Robert [83] Apocalips latine.
 Snawsel. 22886 sq. Cf. 481 [84] Bruno, Of penance. [3942.]
 inf.]. [85] Fenton, Of simony. [10801.]
 [66] De eternitate. Drexelius. [86] Les prieres de la Bible. [Cf. 106
 [67] Crist discended not into Hell. inf.]
 [68] Feild's prayers.⁴ [87] Lafulnes of ye o[a]th of alle-
 [69] Officium parentum etc. geance. [Cf. 478 inf.]
 [70] On ye 51 Psalme.⁵ [88] Le Liure des Psa[l]mes.
 [71] The golden treatise.⁶ [89] Sententiæ diuinæ.
 [72] Sermons of repentance. [90] Catachisme. Canisius. [4568.]
 [73] Conclaue Ignati [by John Donne. [91] Youthe's Error. 2. [By Thomas
 7026]. Bushell. [4187.]
 [74] Spirituall conflict [by L. Scupoli. [92] The⁹ 4 last thinges.¹⁰
 22127 sq.]. [93] An answer to Sr. Thomas More
 [75] Latin testament. [by John Frith. 11381 sqq.].
 [76] Latin primer. [94] Redy way to repentance.

¹ *The boke of Barthram priest intreatinge of the bodye and bloude of Christ*, tr. by Sir Humphrey Lynde, 1548, etc. [20749 sqq.].

² Edward Weston, *The repaire of honour, falsely impeached by Featlye a minister*. Bruges, 1624.

³ Perhaps *Lachrymæ Londinenses, or Londons teares and lamentations*, 1626 [16753]. But cf. 104 inf.

⁴ Apparently either John Field's *Godly Prayers and Meditations*, 1601 [10846] or Theophilus Field's *Prayers Preservative*, 1625 [10862].

⁵ Query Stockwood's translation of the well-known commentary by Musculus.

⁶ Apparently St. Vincent of Lerins, *The golden treatise*, tr. by A. P. [1559 ?] [24748]. Cf. St. Peter of Alcantara, *A golden treatise of mentall praier*, tr. G. Willoughby, 1632 [19794].

⁷ Sic Probably William Crashaw's *Manuale catholicorum*, 1611 [6018].

⁸ William Perkins, *A treatise tending vnto a declaration whether a man be in the estate of damnation, or in the estate of grace* [1588 ?], etc. [19752 sqq.], of which the second section is "The estate of a Christian man in this life" and the third "A dialogue of the state of a Christian man"; both these section headings are used as running titles.

⁹ F. 103v.

¹⁰ Perhaps the work of that name by Robert Bolton, 1632, etc. [3242 sqq.].

- [95] Bible, in quarto, guilt and flited. [110] The beauties of Bethel [by Uxor.¹ Thomas Taylor. 23820].
- [96] Reward of religion. Sermons on [111] Diuine meditations, per Hall. Ruth [by Edward Topsell. 12642 sqq.]
- [97] Art of meditation. [112] Hunnyes recreations. [13973. Cf. 421 inf.]
- [98] The sick man's salve [by Thomas [113] Index biblicus martirologium, Becon. 1757 sqq.]. etc.
- [99] Prayers. Gunpouder treason day. [114] Sermon of repentance per Brad- [16493 sqq. Cf. 134 inf.] ford. [3496 sqq.]
- [100] Seruice book of reading. Psalmes [115] Sermon of simony and sacrilidge. only. [116] God's loue to ye Isralites. [Cf. 80 sup.]
- [101] Fisheri precatones. [Cf. 82 [117] Anatomy of the world [by John sup.] Donne. 7022 sqq. Cf. 428 inf.]
- [102] The beehiue of ye Romish church [by Philips van Marnix, tr. G. [118] Supena.³ Gilpin. 17445 sqq.]
- [103] The saints priuiledge.² [119] Dialogus inter animam et corpus. [120] Andrew's repentance.⁴
- [104] London's lamentation for sin. [121] Prayers on George's day. [122] Rastell's Answere to ⁵ Sr. Thomas More.
- [105] Caluin's catachisme. [4380 sqq.] [123] Expositio super prophetas.
- [106] Priers de la Bible. [Cf. 86 sup.] [124] Psalmes. French metre.
- [107] Golden trumpet. Sermon. [Cf. [125] Ihesus psalter. [14563 sqq. Cf. 27 sup.] 614 inf.]
- [108] Dr. Doue's aduertisement to [126] The conuerted man's birth. [Cf. ye English seminaries. [7077. John Dove.] 136 inf.]
- [109] Seruice book in 4to. [127] Bible, in 4^o.

¹ Cf. *inf.* nos. 132-140, for books left by Squyer's first wife. His second wife, who survived him, was Elizabeth, daughter of John Day of London (Ryl. Lat. MS. 319, f. 46).

² Very probably Richard Sibbes' *The returning backslider (The saints priuiledge)*, 1639 [22500]. Less probably William Strong's *Communion with God in ordinances, the saints priuiledge and duty*, 1656. This item is one of the later additions.

³ Probably Daniel Doune's *A sub-poena from the star-chamber of heaven. A sermon*, 1623 [7021]. Or *A subpoena from the high imperiall court of heauen*, 1617 [23417 sqq. Anonymous]. Cf. 413 *inf.*

⁴ Either *Andrewes resolution to return to God by repentance*, 1621 [590], or *Andrewes humble petition unto Almighty God, declaring his repentance*, 1623 [589]. Cf. 135 *inf.*

⁵ Query whether this should read "by", i.e. More's *The answere to the fyrst parte of the poysoned booke* [by John Frith] *wh. a namelesse heretyke* [W. Tyndale] *hath named the souper of the lorde*, printed by Rastell in 1534 [18077]. Squyer had a copy of Frith [93 *sup.*],

[128] Sanctuary of a trobled soule.

4^o. [By Sir John Hayward.

13004 or 13008.]

[129] Sermon per Squyre.¹

[130] Dr. White versus Fisher Jesuite.

[Cf. 14 *sup*.]

[131] Conciliatio patrum, etc. [Cf.

39 *sup*.]

BOOKS THAT MY DEAD WIFE² LEFT.

[132] Daud's tears, per S^r. John

Hayward. [12991 *sqq*.]

[133] Fitt guest for ye Lord's table.

[134] Prayers pro Gunpouder deliury.

[Cf. 99 *sup*.]

[135] Andrew's Repentance. [Cf. 120

sup.]

[136] Conuerted man's new birth [by

John Andrewes. 595. Cf.

126 *sup*.].

[137] Oracles of the Holy Ghost.

[138] Crums of comfort [by Michael

Sparke. 23016 *sqq*.].

[139] Poesy³ of godly prayers.

[140] Priuate deuotions, per Valen-

tine.⁴

HISTORY.

[141] History of Italy.

[142] Romulus and Tarquin, trans-
lated per D^m. Cary.⁵

[143] Verstegan.⁶ iijs.

[144] Hayward's Edward 6. [12998
sq.]

[145] Epitome of Froisard [Froissart].⁷

[146] Florida next to Virginia.⁸

[147] Romulus and Tarquin per E[arl
of] Mo[n]mo[u]th transl. [Cf.

142 *sup*.]

[148] Cambden's Britan[n]ia Elizabethe,
in 4^{to}. [4506 *sqq*.]

[149] Conformite des anciens avec les
modernes.

[150] De vera religione.

[151] Polidore Virgil's Abridgment.
[24654 *sqq*. Cf. 456 *inf*.]

[152] Continuacion of newes, N^o. 34.
[See 25200 *sqq*.]

[153] Owsold[e], Of worthy matters.
[19001.]

[154] Newes from Spaine.⁹

[155] England's Jubilo [by Stephen
Jerome. 14509].

¹ Presumably John Squire.

² Frances, daughter of Sir Hugh Brawne, kt., who was Squyer's first wife.
Cf. also 95 *sup*.

³ Sic Apparently an unrecorded edition of Nicholas Themylthorp's *The
posie of godlie prayers*. S.T.C. records an edition of 1636 [Aberdeen, E. Raban,
23935] and another, English, of 1638 [23936], the latter being "the twentie and
ninth time imprinted". The work was entered to Dawson on 18th Jan., 1608.

⁴ Apparently Henry Valentine's *Private Devotions*. No edition earlier than
that of 1654 (the 13th) has been found.

⁵ Virgilio Malvezzi's *Romulus and Tarquin*, tr. Henry Carey, Earl of
Monmouth, 1637, etc. [17219 *sqq*.]. This item is one of the later additions.
Cf. 147 *inf*.

⁶ Samuel Rowlands (R. Verstegan, pseud.), *A restitution of decayed intelli-
gence*. In *antiquities, concerning the English nation*, 1605, etc. [21361 *sqq*.]. Cf.
159, 272, 549 *inf*.

⁷ Compiled by J. Sleydane, tr. by P. Golding, 1608, etc. [11399 *sqq*.].

⁸ Probably F. de Soto, *Virginia richly valued, by the description of the maine
land of Florida, her next neighbour*, tr. by R. Hakluyt, 1609, etc. [22938 *sqq*.].

⁹ A common title. [Cf. e.g. 17258, 22098 *sqq*., 22995.] Cf. 211 *inf*.

- [156] Articles [of] peace between y^e Emperor and Turk.¹ [173] Offices of Exeter, etc. [by John Vowell. 24889. Cf. 530 *inf.*].
- [157] Baronets. [Cf. 539 *inf.*] [174] Orders for Orphans in Exeter [by John Vowell. 24888. Cf. 526 *inf.*].
- [158] Survey of Cornwall [by Richard Carew. 4615. Cf. 529 *inf.*]. [175] Hopton's concordance. [Cf. 170 *sup.*]
- [159] Restitution of Antiquities. [Cf. 143 *sup.*, 272, 549 *inf.*] [176] English gold valued.
- [160] Monuments at Westminster, quoted per me. [Cf. 531 *inf.*] [177] Herodotus. Apology avec les anciens.⁴
- [161] Crownes and garlands [by Sir George Buck. 3996. Cf. 533 *inf.*]. [178] Speed.⁵
- [162] New age of old names [by Joseph Wybarne. 26055. Cf. 541 *inf.*]. [179] Hollinshead. 3 volume[s]. [13569.]
- [163] Cambden's Remaynes. [4521 *sqq.*] [180] Cronicon Antonini.
- [164] Elements of armory.² [181] Ranulphus [Higden], Policronicon. [13438 *sqq.*]
- [165] Fragmenta regalia Eliz.³ [182] Plutarke's Liues. Engl. [Tr. T. North. 20065 *sqq.*]
- [166] Art of lymning. [Cf. 532 *inf.*] [183] Rawleigh's History. [20637 *sqq.*]
- [167] Prince Arthur. Round Table. [Cf. 534 *sup.*] [184] Thucidides. Eng. [24056 *sqq.*]
- [168] Pontani historiæ, incipien. ubi Guichardine desinit. [185] Wandalia. Krantz.⁶
- [169] Taylor's English Monarks. [23736 *sqq.* or 23773 *sqq.*] [186] Saxonia. Krantz.⁷
- [170] Concordance of Years [by Arthur Hopton. 13778 *sqq.* Cf. 175 *inf.*]. [187] Fabian's Cronicle. [10659 *sqq.*]
- [171] Wisdom of y^e Antients [by Francis Bacon. 1130 *sqq.*]. [188] History of Venice.⁸
- [172] Manuell of English Cronicles [by Richard Grafton. 12167]. [189] History of France.
- [190] History of Spaine.⁹
- [191] Purchas. [20503 *sqq.*] Lent Wm. Wray.
- [192] Purchas. [Cf. preceding item.]
- [193] Krantz, de Saxonia, etc. [Cf. 186 *sup.*]
- [194] Martin's History. [17526 *sqq.* William Martyn.]

¹ After this item is "History of Florida next to Virginia", struck through. See 146 *sup.*

² Probably Edmund Bolton's well-known work, 1610 [3220]. Cf. 524 *inf.*

³ By Sir Robert Naunton, 1641. This item is one of the later additions.

⁴ I.e. the work of Henri Estienne. Paris, 1565, etc. Cf. 252 *inf.*

⁵ F. 104.

⁶ Albert Krantz, *Vandalia, sive Historia de Vandalorum vera origine, etc.*, 1518, etc.

⁷ Albert Krantz, 1520, etc. Cf. 193 *inf.*

⁸ Probably Thomas de Fougasses, *The general historie of Venice*, tr. W. Shute, 1612 [11207].

⁹ Probably Louis de Mayerne Turquet, *The generall historie of Spaine*, tr. E. Grimeston, 1612 [17747].

- [195] *Vita Christi*.¹
 [196] *History of Henry 7.* Bacon.
 [1159 sqq.]
 [197] *History of London.*
 [198] *Josephus de Bello Judaico.*
 [199] *Suetonius.*
 [200] *Tacitus.*
 [201] *Wars between England and Scotland* [by Edward Ayscu. 1014].
 [202] *Lanquet's Cronicle.* 2. [15218 sqq.]
 [203] *Lloid's Welsh Cronicle.*² Lent
 Mr. Harbet.
 [204] *Diet at Lipswich.*
 [205] *Trauels of Englishmen.*³
 [206] *Of Spaine and Portugall.*
 [207] *Virginia per Waymoth.*⁴
 [208] *Sr. W. Raleigh's Voiage and Deth.*⁵
 [209] *C. S[c]houten's Voiage.* [Tr.
 W. Phillip. 21828.]
 [210] *Squier's conspiracy.*⁶
 [211] *Newes from Spaine.* [Cf. 154 sup.]
 [212] *Kinsale's battell* [by Ralph Birchensha. 3081. Cf. 268 inf.].
 [213] *Of ye wars in Russia* [by Henry Brereton. 3609].
 [214] *Catalogue of Bushops* [by Francis Godwin. 11937 sqq.].
 [215] *Vita philosophorum.*
 [216] *Recerches de la France.*
 [217] *Plutarke's Liues.* French.
 [218] *Sr. Wa[ll]ter Rawley's Guiana.*
 [20634 sqq.]
 [219] *Postnati.*⁷
 [220] *Declaration on Acts* [of] *Parlement.*
 [221] *Daniel's History.* [6246 sq. or 6248 sqq.]
 [222] *History of ye Indies.* *Decades*
 [by Petrus Martyr Anglerius.
 See 645 sqq.].
 [223] *Belgian Com[m]on Weale.*⁸
 [224] *Irland's Jubile* [by Stephen Jerome. 14511].
 [225] *Description of ye world.*⁹ 2.
 [226] *Articles of peace by ye Emperor.*
 [227] *King James to the Parlement.* 4.
 [228] *Wars in Germany and taking of Weesell, etc.*

¹ Probably the popular "Vita" by Ludolphus de Saxonia, 1474, etc.

² Caradoc of Llancarfan, *The historie of Cambria, now called Wales*, tr. Humphrey Lloyd, 1584 [4606].

³ Probably William Biddulph's *The travels of certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia and to the Blacke Sea*, ed. T. Lavender, 1609, etc. [3051 sq.].

⁴ Sic James Rosier's *True relation of the voyage of Captain George Waymouth*, 1605 [21322].

⁵ Query, *A declaration of the demeanor and cariage of Sir W. Raleigh as well in his voyage, as in his returne*, 1618, etc. [20653 sqq.].

⁶ *A letter cont. a report of a conspiracie betw. E[dward] Squire and R. Wallpoole*, 1599 [10017, see S.T.C. s.v. Squire].

⁷ Probably *The Speech of the Lord Chancellor* [Thomas Egerton, Viscount Brackley] *in the Exchequer Chamber, touching the Post-nati*, 1609 [7540].

⁸ *The Low Country commonwealth*, by Jean François (Le) Petit, tr. E. Grimeson, 1609 [15485, 19800]; the running title is "The Belgicke Common-weale".

⁹ Probably George Abbot's *A briefe description of the whole worlde*, 1599, etc. [24 sqq.], or Heylyn's *Microcosmus; a little description of the great worlde*, 1621, etc. [13276 sqq.], or the well-known translation from Giovanni Botero, 1601, etc. [3398 sqq.]. Cf. 234 inf.

- [229] Poland to King James.
 [230] Harcourt's Guiana. [12754 sq.]
 [231] Wars at Tirone.
 [232] Coronation of Ferdinand the Emperor. [10816.]
 [233] The new found world.¹
 [234] Description of ye world. 2. [Cf. 225 sup.]
 [235] Guichardine in French.²
 [236] Frier Bacon. [1183 sq.]
 [237] Barnevilt's Apology. [18800.]
 [238] Sr. Lewes Stucley.³
 [239] Henry 4 of France and Ariosto. [Cf. 271 inf.]
 [240] Bp. Spolato.
 [241] History of England.
 [242] The Palatinate. [See 19126 sqq.]
 [243] Historia Pontani.
 [244] De Marco Aurelio.
 [245] Mercurius Gallobelgicus. 4.⁴
 [246] A murmuror [by Nicholas Breton. 3671].
 [247] History petit de France de Guise.
 [248] Le theatre de [sic] monde [by Pierre Boaistuau. 3166 sq.].
 [249] Grafton, of London.
 [250] Liuius.
 [251] Cesar's Com[m]entaries. [4332 sqq.]
 [252] L'apologie pour Herodote. [Cf. 177 sup.]
 [253] Justine.
 [254] L'histoire de Bandel.⁵
 [255] Salustius.
 [256] King James' comming into England.
 [257] Exposition of Roman antiquities [by Thomas Godwin. 11956 sqq. Cf. 525 inf.].
 [258] Peace-maker. [Probably 14378 sq. By King James I. Cf. 477 inf.]
 [259] Edicts for combats. [Cf. 551 inf.]
 [260] The Duello [by John Selden. 22171. Cf. 550 inf.].
 [261] Catalog pro Frankfort, 1611.
 [262] Monuments. Weeuer. [25223.] 10s.
 [263] Eadmerus, wth Selden's notes. [7438.]
 [264] Camden's Anglica, Normanica, Hibernica, Cambrica. [Frankfort], 1603.
 [265] Stowe's Cronicle in 16^{to}. [See 23320 sqq.]
 [266] Osorius de gloria. 16^o. [18884 sq. Cf. 331, 483 inf.]
 [267] The Swedish Intelligencer. [23521 sqq.]
 [268] Batle of Kinsale. [Cf. 212 sup.]
 [269] Polish ambassador's oration R. Jac.
 [270] The new found world antartike [by André Thevet, tr. T. Hacket. 23950].⁶
 [271] Henry ye 4 of France, wth Ariosto. Ante.⁷
 [272] Restitution of Antiquities. [Cf. 143, 159 sup., 549 inf.]

¹ Either Nicolas Monardes' *Joyfull newes out of the newe founde worlde*, tr. John Frampton, 1577, etc. [18005^a sqq.], or the same as 270 below.

² Hiérosme Chomedey's translation, Paris, 1568, etc.

³ Query *To the Kings most excellent maiestie, the humble petition of Sir L. Stucley touching the bringing up of Sir W. Raleigh*, 1618 [23401].

⁴ Altered from "3". Presumably odd numbers of the periodical of that name (Cologne, 1594, etc.).

⁵ Matteo Bandello.

⁶ After this item is "L'apologie de Herodote [struck through]. Ante" [i.e. 252 sup.].

⁷ "Ante" appears to be in another hand. The reference is to 239 sup.

PHISICK AND SURGERY.¹LAWE, CIUILL AND COMMON.⁸

- [273] A manuscript in folio. Many medecines.
- [274] Gabelhouer.² Phisick.
- [275] Englishman's treasury [by Thomas Vicary. 24706 sqq.].
- [276] Clowes his Surgery. [5444 sq.].
- [277] To preserue the sight.³
- [278] Of melancholly.⁴
- [279] Gello, translated by Iden. [11708 sq.].
- [280] Schola Salernitana. [21596 sqq.].
- [281] Leonardo Phiouerantye [sic, for Fioravanti], Surgery [10881 sq. Cf. 284 inf.].
- [282] Lloid's Phisick.⁵
- [283] Manuscript. Med[i]cines. In folio.
- [284] Phiorauent on Surgery. [Cf. 281 sup.].
- [285] Cary's Helps for many diseases.⁶
- [286] Directions for health.⁷
- [287] Bartolus⁹ in 2 tomum pandectarum.
- [288] Lindwood, Super constitutiones prouinciales. [17102 sqq.].
- [289] New book of entries. Coke.
- [290] Statutes at large. Rastall. [See 9306 sqq. William Rastell.].
- [291] Henry 6.
- [292] Presidents [i.e. Precedents].
- [293] Acts of Parlement.
- [294] West's first and second part.¹⁰
- [295] Court leet. 2.¹¹
- [296] Sherif's office.¹²
- [297] New Nature Brevium. 2. [18388 sqq.].
- [298] Original book.
- [299] Magna Carta and Perkins¹³ and 2 more.
- [300] Surveyor [by A. Rathborne. 20748].
- [301] Lambard's Justice. 2.¹⁴

¹ F. 104^v.² Sic Oswald Gaebelkhover, *The boock of physicke*, tr. A. M., 1599 [11513].³ Perhaps one of the treatises of Walter Bailey.⁴ Probably either Robert Burton's *The anatomy of melancholy*, 1621, etc. [4159 sqq.], or Timothy Bright's *A treatise of melancholie*, 1586, etc. [3747 sqq.].⁵ Apparently Humphrey Lloyd's translation of Pope John XXI, *The treasuri of helth* [? 1550], etc. [14652 sqq.].⁶ Walter Cary, *A brieft treatise called Caries farewell to physicke; wherein are to be found diverse rare and speciall helps for manie ordinarie diseases*, 1583, etc. [4730 sqq.].⁷ Probably the work of that name by William Vaughan, 1600, etc. [24612 sqq.].⁸ F. 105, the remainder of f. 104^v being blank.⁹ Bartolus de Saxoferrato.¹⁰ Apparently William West's *Symbolæographia* [see 25267^a sqq.].¹¹ Probably John Kitchen's *Le court leete*, etc., 2 parts. 1581, etc. [15018 sq.].¹² Possibly Michael Dalton's *Officium Vicecomitum. The office and authoritie of sherifs*, 1623 [6212], or its abridgement, 1628 [6213].¹³ I.e. John Perkins [see 19629 sqq.]. Cf. 304 inf.¹⁴ Presumably his *Eirenarcha*, 1581, etc. [15163 sqq.], as 312 below. The *Archion*, 1635 [15143 sq.], would be too late in date, as this item is one of the original entries of 1632.

- [302] Littleton's tenures. 3. [15760 sqq.]
- [303] Custumes de Normandy. [Cf. 597 inf.]
- [304] Magna Carta. [Cf. 299 sup.]
- [305] Coronatio.
- [306] Triall of Bastardy [by William Clerke. 5411].
- [307] Brunellus,¹ de dignitate.
- [308] Selden, Of tithes. [22172 sq.]
- [309] Proclamations, in folio.
- [310] Lamberd [sic], de priscis Anglorum legibus. [15142. Cf. 540 inf.]
- [311] Edicts for combats and aparell.
- [312] Lamberd's [sic] Justice[s] of the Peace. 15163 sqq. Cf. 301 sup.]
- [313] Dictionary in 16^o.
- [314] Office of coroner and sherif.²
- [315] Litleton. English. [15760 sqq.]
- [316] Statutes, 16 Caroli Regis. [9511.]
- [317] Statutes, 21^o Jacobi Regis. [9507.]
- [318] Statutes, 17 Caroli Regis.
- [319] Abbridgment, lawe. M.³
- [324] Introduction to grammar.⁶
- [325] A B C for children. [18.]
- [326] Calapines' ⁷ Dictionary.
- [327] Rider's Dictionary. [21032 sqq.]
- [328] Thomatius. Dictionary. [24008 sqq. Thomas Thomas or Thomasius.]
- [329] Holiband's French Dictionary. [6737.]
- [330] Sophie Gram[m]ar for gentlewomen.
- [331] Osorius de gloria. [Cf. 266 sup., 483 inf.]
- [332] Tullies Epistles. Engl. and Latin.
- [333] Tullies Offices. Latin and English. [5282 sqq.]
- [334] Susenbrotus' Figures. [23437 sqq.]
- [335] Grammars. 3.
- [336] Textor's Dialogues. [20761 sqq. Cf. 343 inf.]
- [337] Ouid de arte amandi. [Cf. 422 inf.]
- [338] French Litleton. [15719 sqq.]
- [339] Disticha de moribus. [Dionysius Cato. 4846 sqq. Cf. 485 inf.]
- [340] Dialogues.
- [341] Ouid de tristibus, etc.
- [342] Directions for study.
- [343] Textor's Dialogues. [Cf. 336 sup.]
- [344] French grammars.⁸ 2.

[DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS.]⁴

- [320] Cooper's Dictionary. [5686 sqq.]
- [321] Colloquia. Erasmus. [10451 sqq. Cf. 346 inf.]
- [322] Cordelius ⁵ Dialogues.
- [323] Terence. [Cf. 347 inf.]

¹ Joannes Brunellus.

² Probably John Wilkinson's, *A treatise collected out of the statutes concerning the office of coroners and sherifes*, 1618, etc. [25648 sqq.].

³ Query the meaning of "M". Although it is used in the Manuscript section itself (see nos. 598, 624, 625, 628 inf.) it may mean "MS.," for no. 574, which also falls in that section, is described as "Met".

⁴ A blank has been left here in the MS. for a heading.

⁵ Sic *Corderius Dialogues*, tr. J. Brinsley, 1614, etc. [5762 sqq.].

⁶ Probably Lily and Colet's *A shorte introduction of grammar*, 1549, etc. [15611 sqq.].

⁷ Ambrosius Calepinus, whose Dictionary appeared in 1502, etc.

⁸ For a list of such works, see Kathleen Lambley, *The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England during Tudor and Stuart Times*, App. II.

- [345] A vocabulary exposition. [366] Bartas. [See 21649 sqq.]
 [346] Erasmus. Colloquia. [Cf. 321 sup.] [367] Monarkike Tragedies, per Alexander. [343 sqq.]
 [347] Terentius. [Cf. 323 sup.] [368] Britan[n]ia's Pastorals [by William Browne. 3914 sqq.]
 FLOWERS, ETC. [369] Ouid's Metamorph. English. 3. [18955 sqq.]
 [348] Dodoneus. Herball. Engl. [Tr. by H. Lyte. 6984 sqq.] [370] Sr. D^d. Linsey's Dialogue. [15672 sqq. David Lindsay.]
 [349] Dodoneus. Latin. [371] Vice's Anotomy [by Robert Anton. 687].
 [350] A naturall herball, wth leaues and flowres pasted in and a Kalender. Geuen M^r. Castell. [372] Diuel in the Vault.³
 [351] Parkinson.¹ [373] Masques at Court at E[arl of] Essex's] mariage. B. Jonson.⁴
 [352] Contrey Farme [by Charles Estienne and Jean Liebault. Tr. R. Surflet. 10547 sqq.]. [374] Astrophel and Stella [by Sir Philip Sidney. 22536 sqq.].
 [353] Hil[l]'s Art of Gardning. [13491 sqq.] [375] Fame's Memoriall [by John Ford. 11158].
 [354] Planta picta et nomina eorum. [376] Epigrams, per Sr. Jo. Harington. [12775 sqq.]
 [355] Dodoneus wth figures. Latine. [377] Nipping of Abuses [by John Taylor. 23779].
 [356] Plante depicte coloribus propriis.

POESY.²

- [357] Bochas. Old. [Boccaccio.] [378] Albion's remembrance of Frederick and Elizabeth.
 [358] Chaucer. [379] Drayton, To King James. [7231.]
 [359] Ship of Fooles. [3545 sqq.] [380] Higgin's Tragedies.⁵
 [360] Fall of Princes. [3175 sqq.] [381] Hero and Leander [by Christopher Marlowe]. [17413 sqq.]
 [361] Virgil's Eneids. Prose. Old. [24796 sqq.] [382] St. Peter's Complaint [by Robert Southwell. 22956 sqq.].
 [362] Spencer's Workes. [Spenser.] [383] Pilgrimage to Paradise.⁶
 [363] Drayton's Workes. [384] The Owle [by Michael Drayton. 7211 sqq.].
 [364] Ouid's Metamorph. Wth old com[m]entary. Latin. [385] Cephalus and Procris [by Thomas Edwards. 7525].
 [365] Homer's Iliads, per Chapman. [13624 or 13632 sqq.]

¹ John Parkinson, *Paradisi in sole, paradisus terrestris, or, a garden of flowers, with a kitchen garden, and an orchard*, 1629 [19300].

² F. 106. F. 105^v is blank.

³ Probably *The diuell of the vault*, 1606, by J.H. [12568]. According to Hazlitt, by John Heath.

⁴ Jonson's *Hymenæi*, 1606 [14774].

⁵ I.e. *The Mirour for magistrates*, 1574, etc. [13443 sqq.]. Cf. 431 inf.

⁶ By Nicholas Breton, 1592 [3683]. Or the perhaps less well-known work with the same title by Leonard Wright, 1591 [26032].

- [386] Hym[n]s of Q. Elizabeth.¹ [406] Catullus.
 [387] Parat's Epigrams. [19329 sq. [407] Virgill.
 Henry Parrot.] [408] Lucan.
 [388] Ouid's Remedy of Loue. [18974 sq.] [409] Seneca's Tragedies [tr. J. Heywood and others. 22221].
 [389] Mastiffe Whipt.² [410] Siluester's Parlement. [23581 sq.]
 [390] Deuorax [by Genenufue Petau- [411] Ouid, Against Ibis. [Tr. T. Underdown. 18949 sq.]
 Maulette, tr. G. Markham. 19793]. [412] Satir[e]s and Epigrams.
 [391] Honor's Epitaphes. [413] Supena. [Cf. 118 sup.]
 [392] England's Helicon [by John [414] Querela inter animam et corpus.
 Bodenham. 3191 sq.]. [415] Edward 2, Life and Deth.⁴
 [393] Daiaphantus [by Anthony Sco- [416] Philip Sparow [by John Skelton.
 loker. 21853]. 22594 sq. Cf. 418 inf.].
 [394] Virgill, wth com[m]entary. Latin. [417] Romeo and Jul[i]et.⁵
 [395] The ant and y^e nitingale [by [418] Philip Sparow. [Cf. 416 sup.]
 Thomas Middleton. 17881 sq.]. [419] Epigrams. [Cf. 376 sup.]
 [396] Alcilia.³ [420] Springes for Woodcocks.⁶
 [397] Spencer's 4 Hims. [23086. [421] Hunnyes Recreations. [Cf. 112
 Spenser.] sup.]
 [398] Humor's Lookinglas [by Samuel [422] Ouid de arte amandi. [Cf. 337
 Rowlands. 21386]. sup.]
 [399] Dauison's Rapsody. [6373 sq.] [423] Venus and Adonis [by Shake-
 [400] Tears of Deuotion. speare. 22354 sq.].
 [401] A Theif. [424] El Cauliero Determinado.
 [402] Wither's Satire. [25916 sq.] [425] Gransire Graybeard. Macheuill.⁷
 [403] Patience Microcosme. [426] The Temple Poems' of Herbert.
 [404] The Fearfull Somer [by John [13183 sq.].
 Taylor. 23754 sq.]. [427] Teares of peace.⁸
 [405] Wits Bedlam [by John Davies. [428] Anotomy of y^e world. [Cf. 117
 6343]. sup.]

¹ Probably Sir John Davies's *Hymnes of Astræa*, 1599, etc. [6351 sq.].

² Query William Goddard's *A mastif whelp*, 1599 [11928], or Henry Parrot's *The mastive, or young-whelp of the olde-dogge*, 1615 [19333].

³ *Alcilia, philoparthen's loving folly*, by I. (or J.) C., 1613, etc. [4275 sq.].

⁴ Either Marlowe's *The troublesome raigne and lamentable death of Edward the second*, 1594, etc. [17437 sq.], or Sir Francis Hubert's *The deplorable life and death of Edw. the Second*, 1628, etc. [13900 sq.]. But cf. 697 inf.

⁵ Very probably Shakespeare, 1597, etc. [22322 sq.]. Possibly Arthur Broke, *The tragicall historye of Romeus and Iuliet, written first in Italian by Bandell*, 1562, etc. [3812 sq.].

⁶ Henry Parrot, *Laquei ridiculosi : or springes for woodcocks*, 1613 [19332].

⁷ *Grandsire Greybeard : or Machiavell displayed*, by Martin Parker, 1635 [19241]. This item is one of the later additions.

⁸ George Chapman, *Euthymicæ raptus ; or the teares of peace*, 1609 [4976].

- [429] Daniell's Rosamund and Cleopatra, etc. [6254 sq.]
- [430] Chaucer's Tales. Old manuscript. [Cf. 599 *inf.*]
- [431] Mirror of Magistrates [by William Baldwin, etc. 1247 sqq. Cf. 380 *sup.*].
- [432] Frederick and Elizabeth.¹
- [433] A game at chesse. [Prob. 17882 sqq. Thomas Middleton.]
- [434] The Fox [by Ben Jonson. 14783].
- [435] The Faithfull Sheperdes[s by John Fletcher. 11068 sqq.].
- [436] Parlement of Vertues Royall, per J. Silvester. [23581 sq. Joshua Sylvester.]
- [437] Spanish Tragedy [by Thomas Kyd. 15086 sqq.].
- [438] Satires of letting humors blood [by Samuel Rowlands. 21393 sqq.].
- [439] Martial's Epigrams. [Tr. T. May. 17494.]
- [440] Tibullus.
- [447] Les ouures morales de Plutarque. 1 pars.
- [448] Araignment of women [by Joseph Swetnam. 23533 sqq.].
- [449] Wiseman's Christian Knight. [10926. Cf. 480 *inf.*]
- [450] Tobacco.⁵
- [451] S^r. Thomas Ouerburys Wife. [18904 sqq.].
- [452] Bachler's Banquet [by Thomas Dekker. 6476 sqq.].
- [453] Sheperd's Kalender. [22407 sqq.].
- [454] Boecius.
- [455] Jugling, ye art [by Samuel Rid. 21027 sq.].
- [456] Polidor Virgill, Of the first finders of arts, etc.⁶
- [457] King James to his son. [14347 sqq.].
- [458] Bacon's Essays. [1137 sqq.].
- [459] De vita Aulica.
- [460] Tullies Orations. Pars 1. [Cf. 472 *inf.*]
- [461] Lipsius de constancia.
- [462] Tusculan's Questions. [Cicero, tr. J. Dolman. 5317.]
- [463] Help to Discourse. [Ascribed to William Basse. 1547 sqq.].
- [464] A sanctuary for ladies.
- [465] Wisdom of the Ancients [by Francis Bacon. 1130 sqq.].
- [466] More's Eutopia. [18094 sqq.].
- [467] Tacitus. Orations.
- [468] Praise of Baldnes [by Synesius, tr. A. Fleming. 23603].
- [469] Tully, Ad Heronnum etc.

MORALITY.²

- [441] Tullies Works.
- [442] Plutarque's Moralls. [Tr. Philemon Holland. 20063.]
- [443] Montanæ's Essays. [Montaigne, tr. J. Florio. 18041 sqq.].
- [444] Bartholomeus³ de proprietatibus rerum.
- [445] Ramus⁴ on Cicero's Works.
- [446] Plutarchi Moralium. Pars 2.

¹ After 432 is "S^r. Jo. Harington's epigrams", struck through. See 376 *sup.*

² F. 107. F. 106^v is blank.

³ Bartholomæus Anglicus.

⁴ Peter Ramus (Pierre de La Ramée).

⁵ For a list of tobacco pamphlets of the time, see *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, iv, 530-531.

⁶ I.e. *An abridgement of the notable woorkes of P. Vergile* [etc.], 1546, etc. [24654 sqq.]. Cf. 151 *sup.*

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| [470] Stafford's Dog. [23128.] | [480] The Christian Knight. [Cf. 449 sup.] |
| [471] Vienna. ¹ | |
| [472] Tullyes Orations. 1 part. [Cf. 460 sup.] | [481] Lokinglas for married folks. [Cf. 65 sup.] |
| [473] Manutius. Epistles. ² | [482] Tullyes Rhetoricks. |
| [474] Feltham's Resolues. [10755 sqq.] | [483] Osorius de gloria. [Cf. 266, 331 sup.] |
| [475] Hic mulier. [13374 sq.] | |
| [476] For interest and valuacion of leases. ³ | [484] Valuation of rents and moneys. |
| [477] The peacemaker. [Cf. 258 sup.] | [485] Disticha de moribus. [Cf. 339 sup.] |
| [478] Lawfulnes [of the] oath of allegiance. [Cf. 87 sup.] | [486] Aduertisement to King James. M. |
| [479] The honor of true loue and knighthood. | [487] Louer's schole. |

MANUSCRIPTS.⁴

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|---|--|
| [488] Visitation of Staff ^{re} by Glouer, 1583. Et copia. ⁵ | [503] Bartholus de nobilitate, etc. |
| [489] A generall catalogue of armes. | [504] Baron of Burford. [Cf. 666 inf.] |
| [490] Suruey of Deuonshir. | [505] Scocheon, paper. |
| [491] Chesheer per se. | [506] Coronation of King and Queen together. |
| [492] Chesheer cum multis aliis. ⁶ | [507] Creation of Sergeants at Law. |
| [493] Vicecomites. | [508] Pedegrees of ye nobility. |
| [494] Anselmus de progressu Spiritus Sancti, et Epistolæ. | [509] Aberganye's pedigree and case. [Cf. 601 inf.] |
| [495] A book of barons, folio. | [510] Duty of heralds. |
| [496] L'aray d'armes. | [511] Supporters of ye nobility. |
| [497] King James' Priuy Seals. | [512] Controversy twene the heralds. |
| [498] Book of barons. 80. ⁷ | [513] S ^r . Leonard, why he would be a baron. |
| [499] Orders for heralds and barronets. | [514] Orders of the King's house. |
| [500] Discents of y ^e nobility. | [515] Cases of Honor. |
| [501] Atchiuements of y ^e nobility. | [516] The King's revenue. |
| [502] Barons by prescription. | |

¹ Query M. Mainwaringe's *Vienna*. *Wherein is storied y^e valorous atchievements of S^r. Paris of Viennæ and the fair Vienna*, [1628], etc. [17201 sq.].

² Query the edition of Cicero's Epistles by Aldus Pius Manutius.

³ Probably Thomas Clay's *Briefe, Easie, and necessary Tables, of Interest and Rents forborne* : as also for the valuacion of leases, 1622, etc. [5372 sqq.].

⁴ F. 108. F. 107^v is blank.

⁵ A copy, in Squyer's hand, of Robert Glover's Staffordshire Visitation of 1583 is now Ryl. Lat. MS. 277.

⁶ Ryl. Lat. MS. 320 contains abstracts of various records concerning Cheshire, Wales and Cornwall.

⁷ Query Ryl. Lat. MS. 321 ("Earls and Barons from 1066 to 1336; Dukes, Earls and Barons from 1336 to 1514: Summonses to Parliament, 1 Rich. I—6 Hen. VIII"), 80.

- [517] Dutch cotes. [544] Part of a liger. Westminster.
 [518] Milites tempore Edwardi I. [545] Concerning ye Receipt.
 [519] Justic. de Communi Banco. [546] Armes de Rentable.
 [520] Pedegrees of Suffolk, 2, and [547] Pedegrees of Deuonshir.
 Norfolk. [548] Charles [the] Emperor's funerall.
 [521] Cinq Ports. [549] Restitution of decaid antiquities.
 [522] Survey of Kent. [Cf. 537 *inf.*] [Cf. 143, 159, 272 *sup.*]
 [523] Henry 8. Knights. [550] Duello.¹
 [524] Elements of armory. [Cf. 164 [551] Combats.²
sup.] [552] Les armes des Chevaliers de la
 [525] Exposition of Roman antiquities. Rond Table.
 [Cf. 257 *sup.*] [553] Genealogies. 4 volumes.
 [526] Orphans of Exeter. [Cf. 174 *sup.*] [554] Misselanea. 2 great volumes,
 [527] Accidence of armory. tabled.
 [528] Memorial of ye English monarchy. [555] Patent Rolls. 3 volumes.³
 [529] Suruey of Cornwall. [Cf. 158 [556] Releuia, folio, et processus coron-
sup.] acionis Ricardi 2.
 [530] Of the Offices of Exeter. [Cf. [557] Parlement Rol[ls], Edward III.
 173 *sup.*] [558] Patent [Rolls], Edward IV.⁴
 [531] Monuments at Westminster. [Cf. [559] Ragman's [Rolls. Cf. 655 *inf.*].
 160 *sup.*] [560] Declaratio Scaccarii.
 [532] Art of lymming. [Cf. 166 *sup.*] [561] Adiudicata Scaccarii.
 [533] Crownes and garlands. Sr. G. [562] Henry 3. Abbreviated per me.
 Buck. [Cf. 161 *sup.*] [563] Repertorium Recordorum Scac-
 [534] Prince Arthur. [Cf. 167 *sup.*] cario.
 [535] York's Errors. [564] Summon. Parliamentorum.
 [536] Jornall [of the] Black Prince, fol. [565] Beda et Ragman.
 [Cf. 583 *inf.*] [566] Inq^s. Com. Stafford.
 [537] Survey of Kent. [Cf. 522 *sup.*] [567] Genealogyes. Propr.
 [538] Tutbery [co. Staff.]. Rare valu- [568] Ordinaria Record. In folio.
 ations. [569] Vicecomites Com. Lincoln.
 [539] Baronets. [Cf. 157 *sup.*] [570] Henricus Princeps contra Ser-
 [540] De priscis legibus. [Cf. 310 *sup.*] uientem Hele's Case. [Cf.
 [541] New age of old names. [Cf. 162 588 *inf.*]
sup.] [571] E[arl of] Lincoln's case, and 12
 [542] Emblemata. others.
 [543] Monast. Colcestr. [572] Notes of monuments. 2.

¹ Cf. 260 *sup.* (Selden's *The Duello*, 1609). A manuscript copy of Selden's *England's Epinomis* is in the Rylands' Squyer Collection (Lat. MS. 308, ff. 116-168).

² Cf. 259 *sup.* (Edicts for Combats), which also adjoins "Duello".

³ Cf. Ryl. Lat. MSS. 289-293, 302, 307, 317, which contain abstracts from Patent Rolls.

⁴ Cf. Ryl. Lat. MS. 317 (Placita, Hen. III—Edw. II : Patent Rolls, Edw. IV). See 555 *sup.*, 638 *inf.*

- [573] *Modus tenendi parliamentum*.¹ [598] Poesy. M.
 [574] Notes of Ovid. M^{ct}. [599] Chaucer's Tales. [Cf. 430 *sup.*]
 [575] Paraselsus. [600] Musique.
 [576] J. Croke against Shipmoney. [601] Rochester's case. Abergentye's
 [577] Noy,² Of [the] Earl Marshall. case. [Cf. 509 *sup.*]
 [578] Notes of ye Cronicle. [Cf. 688] [602] Abbreviationes Edwardi 2 de
inf. Banco. Propr.
 [579] Notes of sermons. [Cf. 609
inf.]
 [580] Index Lelandi. [Cf. 691 *inf.*]
 [581] Northton [sic] forest breif. [603] Passio Christi, lymmed.
 [582] Rubrica de electionibus. [604] Legenda sanctorum.
 [583] Abbreviatio libri Black Prince. [605] Bible.
 [Cf. 536 *sup.*] [606] An old book in verse of Our
 [584] Dominus Roche. Lady, etc.
 [585] Reports. 3. [607] One of Fisher's Psalmes, trans-
 [586] Analises, etc. lated per me.
 [587] De lege. [608] De victoria verbi Dei.
 [588] Prince and Sergeant Hele's case. [609] Notes of sermons. [Cf. 579 *sup.*]
 [Cf. 570 *sup.*] [610] Restitution of Israell.
 [589] J. Dodd[r]i[dg[e]]'s³ Notes for [611] A yong man's lookinglasse.⁶
 impositions. [612] Verses diuine.
 [590] Tenures and abridgments. [613] A sermon at Spittle, per Browne.
 [591] Presidents, diuers volumes [i.e. [614] Ihesus psalter. [Cf. 125 *sup.*]
 Precedents]. [615] Liger Book of Lenton [co.
 Nott.].
 [592] De ordine ecclesiæ. [616] Liger Book of Exeter. [Cf. 665
inf.]
 [593] Bailes, by S^r. E[dward] Coke.⁴ [617] Liger Book of St. Nicholas
 [594] Presidents of Jud. [sic]. Exon. [Cf. 664 *inf.*]
 [595] President [sic, i.e. Precedents]. [618] Liber Regine Isabelle.
 Mr. Agard.⁵ [619] Hooker.
 [596] Natura breuium, etc.
 [597] Costumes de Normandy. [Cf. 303 *sup.*]

DIUINITY.

¹ A copy of the *Modus*, together with copies of other works, occurs in Ryl. Lat. MS. 308.

² William Noy (1577-1634), attorney-general. See *D.N.B.*

³ For Sir John Doddridge (1555-1628) see *D.N.B.*, and Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 13 and n.

⁴ Perhaps a copy of Coke's *A little treatise of baile and maineprize*, 1635 [5489]. This item is one of the later additions.

⁵ For Arthur Agard(e) (1540-1615) see *D.N.B.* and the introduction to this list. In Ryl. Lat. MS. 306, f. 30, is a copy, in Squyer's hand, of "A discourse concerninge the Assaie of goulde and silver, made by Arthur Agarde to the Lord Tresorer, 29 Iunii 1592".

⁶ This is the title of a work by Richard Watt, published in 1641.

PRESERVING¹ AND COOKING.
EXPERIMENTS PHISICALL.

- [620] Ortelius' Maps.
- [621] Of Geomancy.
- [622] De Ethere et meteoribus.
- [623] Effects of ye planets.
- [624] Experiments. M.
- [625] Alchimy. M.
- [626] Stanhuf² de ethere, etc.
- [627] Surveyeng.
- [628] Prop. de globecclesiastick. M.
- [629] Experiments of preserving.

DEVONSHEERE, ETC., RECORDS.³

- [630] Escheats. 3 volumes.⁴
- [631] Fines.⁵
- [632] Ex cartis in thesauro ecclesiæ
Exon.⁶
- [633] H. et Paroch.⁷ in com. Devon.
- [634] Nortauton⁸ Hundred.
- [635] E[arl of] Deuon's lands forfeit to
ye Crowne.
- [636] E[arle of] Bathe's mariage to
Cornwallis.⁹
- [637] Escheats. Staffordshir.¹⁰
- [638] Calenders of ye Patent Rolles.
3¹¹ volum[e]s.

- [639] Repertory of State at Westminster.
- [640] Concerning ye Chamberlens, etc.,
Black Book.
- [641] Patent Rolles. King John,
Henry 3.
- [642] Parlement Rolls in ye Talley
Court.
- [643] Perpetuities and fees paiaible in
Receipt.
- [644] Priuy Seals for payments. 2.
- [645] Articles to unite ye Augmentacion
to ye Receipt.
- [646] Ex rottulis parliamentorum.
- [647] Ex Turro pro Deuon.
- [648] Fragmenta. [Cf. 694 *inf.*]
- [649] Chedder's lands.
- [650] Repertory of Records in ye Receipt.
2.¹²
- [651] Tenures in Surrey.
- [652] Deuon. De Banco.
- [653] Fines. Richard I.
- [654] Fundatio Militum de Win[d]sor.
- [655] Ragman's [Rolls. Cf. 559 *sup.*].
- [656] C^s. Deuon. Et forest [of] Dertmore.
- [657] Particulars. Vide tabulam.¹³
- [658] Pelles de officiariis, etc.
- [659] Parlement Summons. Propr.

¹ F. 108^v.

² Michael Stanhufius.

³ F. 109. The remainder of f. 108^v is blank.

⁴ Cf. Ryl. Lat. MSS. 265, 269, 270, 287, 288, all of which contain Escheats, and see 637 *inf.*

⁵ Cf. Ryl. Lat. MSS. 243, 260, 285, 286, which contain Fines.

⁶ Worthy (*Devonshire Wills*, p. 106), without giving his source, states that Squyer visited Exeter in 1607 recording notes of arms. Cf. 673 *inf.*

⁷ Apparently, Hundreds and Parishes.

⁸ I.e. Tawton, co. Devon.

⁹ William Bouchier, Earl of Bath (d. 1623), married, secretly, Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Cornwallis of Brome, co. Suff.; the marriage was annulled.

¹⁰ Ryl. Lat. MS. 276 (Staffordshire Escheats, 1 Edw. III—13 Rich. II, in Squyer's hand).

¹¹ Altered from "2". Cf. 555 *sup.*

¹² Probably Ryl. Lat. MSS. 322, 323. See Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 11, 12.

¹³ Presumably at the beginning of the volume.

- [660] Beda et Hoveden. [677] Another [History] of England to Henry 6.
- [661] Notes of records in generall. [678] Compute of times.
- [662] Feoda. Brewer. [679] Officers and their fees.⁶
- [663] Abby of Forde [co. Devon]. [680] E[arl of] Essex[s] arraignment.
- [664] Liger of St. Nicholas in Exon. [681] Creationes et donationes.
- [From] Sr. Robert Cotton per exchange.¹ [682] Q. S. acts and Sr. John Parret.
- [665] Liger of D. Exeter. [Cf. 616 sup.] I bought of Turpin. [683] Sr. W. Raleigh's Stal.
- [666] Note of Baron of Burford's evidence. [Cf. 504 sup.] [684] Union.
- [667] Fees and wages from ye King. [685] Queen Elizabeth and the Netherlands.
- [668] Customer Smith's debts, anno 1591. [686] Leicester's⁷ Commonwealth.
- [669] Germyn to Woolton, Bp. [of] Exeter.² [687] Obseruations of Holland.
- [670] Essex,³ Master [of the] Horse's accounts. [688] Notes of ye English Cronicle. [Cf. 578 sup.]
- [671] Fees pro custodia castrorum et parcorum. [689] Earl Marshall.
- [672] Expences. E[arl of] Essex[s] iorney to Roan.⁴ [690] Prince Harrye's Polititian. Lent Mr. Holborn.
- [673] Ex cartis in ecclesia Exon. [Cf. 632 sup.] [691] Leland. [Cf. 580 sup.]
- [674] Summ. Parliament. Ex dono Magistri St. John. [692] Ranceon's⁸ hostages.
- [693] Vox populi.⁹
- [694] Fragmenta. [Cf. 648 sup.]
- [695] Wrenham. Spech [in the] Star-chamber.¹⁰
- [696] Bacon's Advancement of Learning. Part of ye originall.
- [697] Life and Deth [of] Edward 2. Translated per me.
- [698] To make colors and experiments. 2.
- [699] Genealogies, fragmenta.
- MORALITY AND HISTORY. OFFICE.⁵
- [675] History of England to 5 Henry 4. Folio.
- [676] Antiquities, Cases and Claimes.

¹ Cf. 617 *sup.* Extracts from the "Liger of St. Nicholas in Exon", by Squyer, dated 13th April, 1631, are in Ryl. Lat. MS. 319. At the end he notes that he returned the volume to Cotton "et post dat mihi in escambium" (f. 95^v).

² John Wolton, Bishop of Exeter (1579-94).

³ Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, who was Master of the Horse from 1587 to 1601.

⁴ I.e. Rouen, in 1591.

⁵ *Sic*.

⁶ Probably Ryl. Lat. MS. 324, "A book of Offices [with fees] . . . collected in anno 1613". Copies of manuscripts with this title are common in seventeenth-century libraries.

⁷ *Sic* for "Leicester's". Apparently a manuscript copy of the well-known printed work of that name; such copies are common.

⁸ I.e. Ransom's.

⁹ Possibly a manuscript copy of one of the two popular works of that name by Thomas Scott [22098 *sqq.*, 22102 *sqq.*].

¹⁰ I.e. John Wrenham's speech against Lord Chancellor Bacon.

GEORGE'S¹ BOOKS : BOUGHT7^o SEPT. 1639.

[702] Plautus—ijs.

[703] Gerard's Meditations [11772.

[700] Seneca's Tragedies [22221]—xijd.

Gerhard]—xijd.

[701] Goodwin's Roman Antiquities

[704] Juvenal and Perseus—xijd.

[11956 *sqq.*]—xxd.

¹ F. 110. F. 109^v is blank. This reference seems to be too vague for certain identification. Of two well-known bearers of the name, Richard St. George, Clarenceux, died on 17th May, 1635, and Sir Henry St. George, Garter, in 1644. Squyer, however, had a son named George, who married Anna, daughter of Boleyn Reymes, esq. (Ryl. Lat. MS. 319, f. 46).

SOME NOTES ON LORD SYDENHAM.

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MUCH of the work that is now being done on the material in the state archives and in the other libraries in the dominions is primarily local history, if that term may rightly be used of dominions which are many times the physical size of the motherland. Nevertheless, it must pass through the net of the imperial historian.

There are various aspects of Canadian development which give point to this unity. The dominion has traditionally been the touchstone of empire constitutional history. It was the home of dominion self-government. And because "responsible government" in the empire originated in Canada, every step toward self-government in this dominion is of interest to the student of empire constitutional history, no step more so than the Rebellion of 1837 in Upper and Lower Canada and its aftermath leading to the union of the provinces in 1841.

The story of the Rebellion has been told many times. Students of constitutional history know Lord Durham's *Report* almost by memory. But the way in which Sir George Arthur, as lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, and Lord Sydenham, as governor-general, "tidied up" after the Rebellion is known in less detail. The *Arthur Papers* in the possession of the Toronto Public Libraries throw some new light on this period, and a radical revaluation of Arthur's character, ability, and achievements may result from the projected publication of this collection of his personal, private, and semi-official correspondence.

Hitherto Arthur has been pictured as a person bringing to

Canada the harsh heart which might be expected of the administrator of a penal settlement (for fourteen years he had been governor of Van Diemen's Land); as the man who callously refused to pardon Lount and Mathews, two of the leaders of the 1837 Rebellion; and as the subordinate official who was restrained from an orgy of capital punishment only by the more humanitarian Durham. But a study of the *Arthur Papers* will rather show Arthur as a man of kindly heart; an able administrator; lacking the power and prestige of Durham and Sydenham, lacking their brilliance, certainly that of Sydenham, but nevertheless a governor who, by his moderation and his gradual introduction of reform and order in the administrative machinery, was responsible for the preservation of British connexion which might so easily have been lost at that time. There is every sign that he would have succeeded in re-establishing a peaceful Upper Province, despite repeated shabby treatment by the home government.

The *Arthur Papers*, too, will throw a little additional light on Sydenham. They confirm his undoubted brilliance; his terrific driving force and energy; his versatility; his uncanny capacity for bending to his own will men of divergent opinion. But they also confirm his unscrupulous opportunism; his (sometimes mistaken) belief in his own infallibility; his indifference to the conscientious feelings of the other man. To Sydenham, other people were merely puppets, whose strings he pulled. He did not allow them to have personal feelings. When their antics were not, or ceased to be, those he desired, they were unhesitatingly discarded.

Let us sketch out the background of Sydenham's coming to Canada. In 1837 armed conflict broke out in Upper and Lower Canada. This is often viewed solely as a struggle against British domination; as a mere continuance (under changed conditions) of that same conflict which had resulted in the break-up of the first empire, and which might in the end "send the two tribes after the ten". But this was not the dominant element in at least the earlier stages of the conflict.

In Upper Canada the main issue began with an effort by radicals to shed the "class" control of a local oligarchy which

filled the executive offices and the seats of an Upper House which perpetuated the abuses of government, and added hopeless incompetence to self-interest. In the earlier period, until Durham's time indeed, there were hardly more than a couple of men ¹ who had vision enough to see fully responsible government as the only final solution.

In Lower Canada the struggle was that of the huge mass of the French Canadians against the controlling power of the handful of commercially-minded British inhabitants. In both these provinces the story is one of violence, of bloodshed, of rebellion, of invasion by American "sympathisers", resulting, in Lower Canada, in the suspension of the constitution itself and in control by a special council without even the semblance of popular government.

The Rebellions of 1837 and 1838 in the Canadas were followed by the appointment of Durham as governor-general. He arrived with great powers and a correspondingly great panoply of magnificence. Popular faith (or hopes) rallied round him. His instructions were to consider any proposals "conducive to the permanent establishment of an improved system of government". This meant an honest desire to remove abuses and remedy grievances. But, although Durham had a federal plan in mind, he was not at that time prepared to go beyond the ministerial policy which excluded responsible government. When, however, he had stepped beyond his already great authority, and certain of his ordinances were "disallowed", he returned home (in the *Inconstant*!) after five months and five days in the country, to compile his famous *Report*.

As with Durham's appointment, so now with his resignation, the hand of government was forced. The contemporary significance of Canadian affairs is shown by the volume of the official papers alone, and the precarious existence of the government made it impossible to leave the question untouched. At the same time the government's instability prescribed the limitations within which it could act. The flimsiness of Melbourne's tenure is suggested by his own admission :

¹ William Warren Baldwin and Robert Baldwin, father and son.

Upon the whole, Lord Melbourne cannot but consider that affairs are in a most precarious state, and that whilst there is so much discontent fermenting within the Cabinet itself, there must be great doubt of Lord Melbourne's being much longer able to hold the Administration together,¹

and the inevitable reaction on external affairs is indicated by John Beverley Robinson, Chief Justice of Upper Canada, then in England on leave of absence on account of ill-health :

It is perfectly plain that a Government so little stable as the present is not in a situation to rule Colonial interests, or any interests firmly and steadily—It is a Daily struggle for existence. . . . Parties are so nearly balanced that the Govt., unless they are prepared to go out of office, must offend no individual or party however small, whose support they have any reason to hope for, & hence it is that all interests in their turn, but more especially those that are distant, will be sacrificed in some degree to the *necessity* of the times.²

What proposals, therefore, concerning Canada could be acceptable to the opposition, could be in accordance with the government's own expressed views on colonial government, and could at the same time find such support in Canada as would terminate the discontent and unrest in the provinces? Durham had presented his *Report* in February, 1839. It contained recommendations in opposition to the government's stated attitude, but governmental conciliation had ceased to be his concern. Indeed, on his return he had at first refused all communication with the ministry.³

The government eventually faced up to taking action. Durham's plan of a legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada was to be carried into effect. Then at the last moment the proposals were held up on account of representations from Upper Canada. On 12th June, 1839, Normanby wrote privately to Arthur :

The intelligence which we received from you last week on the very day of Lord John Russell's intended statement had naturally a very decided effect upon the course we had previously determined to pursue. In the face of so strong a Protest from parties so deeply interested against any thing being finally settled

¹ *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 1907, vol. 1, p. 185. Melbourne to Victoria, 10th Feb., 1839.

² *Arthur Papers*, in Toronto Public Libraries, Robinson to Arthur, 19th March, 1839.

³ *Lord Melbourne's Papers*, 1889, pp. 440, 443.

without giving them an opportunity of being heard it would obviously have been difficult to have forced forward Legislation of a prospective character. The advantage in at once settling the question if possible had always appeared to me to be great, but in the present state of parties here one could not anticipate such a general measure in their views as would alone have made success satisfactory.¹

When it is remembered that this was only three weeks after the Whigs had resumed office following the Queen's frustration of Peel on the Bedchamber question, it is obvious that the government could have carried no seriously controversial measure.

The original bill concerning the Canadas was therefore divided into two parts. The first part, concerning the continued supersession of the elected assembly in Lower Canada by a special council, was put through. But the second part, dealing with the union of the two provinces, was merely introduced, Normanby saying that it would not be proceeded with until the special council in Lower Canada and the legislature in Upper Canada had had an opportunity of communicating their views,² and that it would probably be sent out for consideration between this and the next Session of Parliament.³

The establishment of the union was the task facing the new governor-general who was to be appointed in place of Durham. It was a complex task. Lower Canada was basically opposed to a union lest it should result in the final supremacy of the British population of the provinces. Even in Upper Canada the reform movement was now basing its hopes on the more fundamental proposals in Durham's *Report*. Popular "Durham meetings" were being held. As Arthur said:

These proceedings have been the more perplexing, because, whilst individuals engaged in the late rebellion have been their warm partizans, the meetings, in some instances, have also been supported by men of undoubted respectability and loyalty, who have plainly explained to me, that their determination is to exclude Her Majesty's Government from any interference in the local concerns in the Province.⁴

In Upper Canada, however, the union received a measure of support because some of the reformers believed that a

¹ *Arthur Papers*, Normanby to Arthur, 12th June, 1839.

² Canadian archives, G. 92, Normanby to Arthur, 12th June, 1839.

³ *Arthur Papers*, Normanby to Arthur, 12th June, 1839.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Arthur to Russell, 18th Oct., 1839.

combination between themselves and the Lower Canadian French would present a solid block against the Tories in a united parliament. The fear of this was, indeed, the main objection to union on the part of the "constitutionalists". Arthur admitted to the home government that there were "many and most substantial advantages to be gained" by the union, but only after an "extensive infusion of British population by immigration" in order to forestall radical domination, and in order to strengthen the supporters of the "British Connection" against the American tendency.

The ministry's choice for governor-general fell on Charles Poulett Thomson, afterwards Lord Sydenham.¹ He had sat in the British House of Commons for fifteen years. For ten of these he represented Manchester, the centre of the new economic thought of the time. For five years he had been a member of the cabinet as president of the Board of Trade. He declined the chancellorship of the exchequer to become governor-general of British North America.

His first step was in Lower Canada. Here he carried the special council. There had never been any intention of carrying popular opinion among the French. Russell's instructions to Sydenham had said :

We have never concealed from ourselves that the success of any plan for the settlement of Canadian affairs must depend on the concurrence and support of the provinces themselves. To learn their deliberate wishes, and to obtain their co-operation by frank and unreserved personal intercourse, will therefore be the first and most important duties which you will be called upon to perform.²

This, however, was a gloss on the actual situation. Melbourne's statement to Russell :

We are about to make a legislative union of the two provinces. We feel that we cannot enforce this union upon Upper Canada without her consent, and therefore we give her a choice. We give Lower Canada no choice, but we enforce it upon her during the suspension of the constitution,³

is much nearer the truth.

¹ Except in footnotes he is here referred to throughout as Sydenham.

² Kennedy, *Statutes, Treatises and Documents of the Canadian Constitution*, 2nd ed., 1930, p. 416. Russell to Thomson, 7th Sept., 1839.

³ *Lord Melbourne's Papers*, p. 444.

Sydenham's attitude, however, is our main point. There never was, with him, any question in either province of obtaining the willing acquiescence which seems to be implied in the above statements. It is true that his amazing personality won over to his own views the support of individuals of widely differing opinions. As Arthur said of one of Sydenham's measures :

What charm the Governor-General has used I know not,¹

and Sydenham himself referred to what became almost traditionally known as his magic "wand". But behind all this there was an unhesitating use of coercion whenever it was needed.

As has already been said, he carried the special council in Lower Canada. His statement that "the Union question . . . as far as this Province goes is carried by acclamation"² was, however, the outcome of his own exuberance. Actually he had merely pushed his proposals through the council. He seems to have believed that because he had accepted the personnel of the pre-Durham³ special council the council represented the voice of the province, and that he had the majority of the province, both British and French, behind him. The special council was not Lower Canada, as Sydenham soon found. Indeed, he had discounted his subsequent difficulties in the council itself. In June, 1839, he told Arthur :

I have been much occupied at Montreal making great changes in the laws of the Province preparatory to the Union, and have had infinite trouble, with little assistance,

and he admitted :

Nothing but a despotism could have got them thro'—A house of Assembly, whether single or double, would have spent two years at them.⁴

The union proposals, however, would never have passed a House of Assembly in Lower Canada, and the fact never seems to have been adequately stressed, that if Sydenham had had to

¹ *Arthur Papers*, Arthur to Robinson, 25th Dec., 1839.

² *Ibid.*, Thomson to Arthur, 15th Nov., 1839.

³ Durham dissolved the old council and appointed a new one which, with one exception, consisted of members of his staff. Sydenham re-summoned the council which had acted under Sir John Colborne.

⁴ *Arthur Papers*, Thomson to Arthur, 30th June, 1840.

face a popular assembly there he would have been defeated at the outset. His admitted "despotism" as applied even to the council included throwing out the Chief Justice. Arthur said :

I find you have had a flare up with your Chief Justice, and give you joy of having shaken off a haughtily overbearing man,¹

and Sydenham replied :

He is out and out the cleverest man in this Province, but cursed with the worst temper I have had the misfortune to meet with—I could manage him very well, as long as he had to deal solely with me, but his temper absolutely prevented his co-operating with others in the preparation or arrangement of measures, and therefore at last he tried out my patience and I put him out of the Council.²

Sydenham alone could apparently get on with him. Arthur had expressed it :

The Governor-General appears to understand admirably well how to manage men, which is in fact the art of Government.³

This despotic attitude was seen still more clearly when Sydenham came to deal with the Upper Canadian partner to the contract. The home government had set down the broad principles of the proposed union, and he had been instructed

to endeavour to obtain for that measure, such an assent to its general principles, and such a correction of its details, as may render it acceptable to the provinces, and productive of permanent advantage.⁴

Moreover, Melbourne later said to Russell :

I return you Thomson's letter. It is not encouraging in its details, and it is desponding in its tone. What I do not like is his saying that, if he fails in the Union, all is up. For God's sake tell him not to feel that, but to make the next best arrangement. If he suffers all "to be up" in his hands, all will be up with him and with those who sent him too.⁵

It seems certain, therefore, that the home government would have been content with something much less than a blind acceptance of its union proposals, and that (as already quoted) learning the "deliberate wishes" and an obtaining of "co-operation" were intended. Sydenham's attitude, however, was

¹ *Arthur Papers*, Arthur to Sydenham, 2nd Feb., 1841.

² *Ibid.*, Sydenham to Arthur, 5th Feb., 1841.

³ *Ibid.*, Arthur to Jackson, 2nd Dec., 1839.

⁴ Kennedy, *Statutes*, etc., p. 416. Russell to Thomson, 7th Sept., 1839.

⁵ *Lord Melbourne's Papers*, p. 446. Melbourne to Russell, 28th Dec., 1839.

autocratic in the extreme. In Upper Canada, as in Lower Canada, although now dealing with a popularly elected assembly, he required nothing less than a blank acceptance of the "principles" he laid down, without any question whatever of any "correction of . . . details". He was prepared to reject any assent to the union if any "conditions" were attached to it. He set out his terms in his message to the assembly. They were merely equal representation of the two provinces, a "sufficient" civil list (no more clearly defined than that, with the amount to be left to the imperial government's discretion), and a common debt of the two provinces for public works. The assent of the House was required with only these items to be stated in the resolutions of acceptance.¹ "The people here must not stipulate anything about the Act of Govt. If they do so, I should consider it decisive and have to adopt other measures for getting their assent to the Union."²

All his powers of persuasiveness were brought into play. He spent some ten days in personally seeing "all the Members of both Houses that cd. be met with".³ The relief to Upper Canadian debt was his trump card. Upper Canada was bankrupt. Its expenditure was far beyond its income. The main source of income was the tax on imports, but Montreal, the port of entry, lay in the lower province, which therefore held the solution to increased revenue. Lower Canadian debt was relatively light, and besides the union of the debt Sydenham had authority for a British loan of one and a half million pounds—to a united province.

But behind all his persuasiveness, behind the tempting bait of financial relief, Sydenham's bludgeon was for ever swinging, with a threatening gesture now and then, and with a blow on an unlucky head when needed. There was no question of "co-operation", it was a take-it-or-leave-it proposition, with full coercion to take it. He published in the *Gazette* Russell's famous despatch of 16th October, 1839, without adding any comment or explanatory note beyond heading it "for the

¹ *Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, 1839-1840*, p. 17.

² *Arthur Papers*, Thomson to Arthur, 27th Nov., 1839.

³ *Ibid.*, Arthur to Somerset, 6th Dec., 1839.

information of all parties concerned". This despatch changed traditional tenure-for-life to retirement from public office whenever public policy made retirement expedient, and especially when there was a change in the person of the governor.¹

Looking back, it is curious how some of the reform party could view this document as a step towards responsible government. Actually the despatch was an additional whip placed in the hands of the head of the government. Sydenham so used it. He whipped into line such people as Attorney-General Hagerman and Solicitor-General Draper, one of whom was opposed to union, whilst the other supported the idea subject only to conditions which were not to operate. Both were required to support Sydenham's measure as it stood. The alternative was, under Russell's despatch, the vacation of their offices. Both of them felt compromised. Sydenham belittled their scruples with sophistry.

I cannot for the life of me either discover the inconsistency (!!) with which they are to be taunted. One says, "I was opposed to a Union at all, and still am, but the measure has been decided upon by yourselves [i.e. the assembly; but it had not been so decided] and by the Crown, and that being done I will accept terms which I think fair and not lend myself to a factious opposition and impracticable conditions." The other, "I was, and am for the Union, and approve of the terms offered. I last year wished for some additional conditions, and I shall still support them as recommendations to be considered by the Govt., but I will not throw away all chance of the Union of which I approve by affixing them as conditions without which the measure ought not to proceed."

Where the inconsistency of such a course lies, I am at a loss to conceive.²

Sydenham was prepared to remove William Allan, one of the dissentients in the legislative council on the union resolutions,³ and a few weeks later he would have dismissed Attorney-General Hagerman for non-support of his clergy reserves measure if Arthur had not found a way of escape for Hagerman through a side door on to the judicial bench. Sydenham said:

¹ Kennedy, *Statutes*, etc., pp. 423-424. On this interesting document, see also Knaplund, "Sir James Stephen and British North American Problems," in the *Canadian Historical Review*, March, 1924, and Butler, "Note on the Origin of Lord Russell's Despatch of Oct. 16, 1839," in the *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. 1, 1923-1925.

² *Arthur Papers*, Thomson to Arthur, 14th Dec., 1839.

³ *Ibid.*, Thomson to Arthur, 13th Dec., 1839.

I am very much obliged to you indeed for the friendly assistance you have given me in arranging this matter, which relieves me from great embarrassment, for I should have regretted the necessity of turning Hagerman out tho' after what had passed I could not have avoided it.¹

This was despite the fact that Hagerman, although attorney-general, had been ignored in the drafting of the bill, and had not even seen its provisions until, after the first reading, they were made available to him along with the ordinary members of the assembly.² Hagerman's views may have been wrong. But the fact remains that considerations for another person's conscience (as we shall again see later) were no part of Sydenham's make-up. He was setting down a policy which was to be implicitly followed by all government officials whatever the views of the country or of the assembly might be, as witness his subsequent dismissal of Robert Berrie, a clerk of the peace, for having voiced a not unnatural opposition to an extension of the number of government officials in the united assembly, and for having opposed the candidature of the provincial secretary as a member of that body.

We saw above that although Sydenham refused to permit any "conditions" to be attached to the union resolutions, there was an inference, in his comments concerning Hagerman, that any member's conscience might be pacified by "recommendations". Once the resolutions approving the union were passed, however, the picture changed. His restrictions on what the assembly might say, even by way of recommendations, were now almost more autocratic than ever.

The only recommendations I can consent to are those mentioned by the Solr. Genl. in his note to me, the English Languages, the Seat of Govt., and the tenure of seats in the L[egislative] C[ouncil]. . . . I have informed the Solr. Genl. that these are my terms for the Govt. people at least.³

Sydenham, moreover, had lost no time in sending off a messenger to England with a union bill, framed by himself, whose provisions were not even made known in Canada.⁴

¹ *Arthur Papers*, Thomson to Arthur, 13th Jan., 1840.

² *Ibid.*, Hagerman to Arthur, 12th Jan., 1840; to Thomson, 12th Jan.

³ *Ibid.*, Thomson to Arthur, 7th Jan., 1840.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Arthur to Somerset, 24th Jan., 1840.

Two further illustrations of Sydenham's indifference to the conscientious feelings of other people may be mentioned.

Reference has already been made to the presence in England of Chief Justice Robinson. In keeping with tradition he was speaker of the legislative council by virtue of being Chief Justice. When he went to England on account of his health he had followed precedent by resigning from the speakership, and Judge Jonas Jones had been appointed. Robinson's outstanding ability, his meritorious career, and his absolute integrity are all unquestioned facts. But he was a full-blooded Tory who hated the *Durham Report* and opposed the union. He believed that he was at full liberty to criticise the proposals for union so long as they had not been approved by parliament; once so approved he would fall in behind them.¹ But after pressing his views on the Colonial Office and discussing them with the Tory leaders whenever their inquiries gave him an opportunity to do so, he finally published them in pamphlet form.

The consequence was that despite the fact that Robinson on resigning had believed he was standing down only temporarily during absence, despite the fact that Judge Jones had taken office on the same basis and tendered his resignation as soon as Robinson returned, and despite the fact that Arthur had accepted Robinson's resignation with this understanding and therefore felt he had a moral obligation towards Robinson, Sydenham refused to consider reinstatement. In his view Robinson had forfeited all claim to consideration by his opposition.²

Arthur responded to Robinson's request for a statement in writing by declaring his own personal obligation :

I never for a moment supposed you had resigned, or considered you meant to relinquish the office of Speaker; on the contrary, I certainly led you to believe, what, on my part, was sincerely intended, that you would be reinstated therein, on your return from England,³

and to Sydenham, Arthur had written :

¹ *Arthur Papers*, Robinson to Arthur, 27th Jan., 1840.

² *Ibid.*, Thomson to Arthur, 13th June, 1840.

³ *Ibid.*, Arthur to Robinson, 28th Dec., 1840.

I have viewed the Question purely as one of Justice,—but I am convinced it is one of policy also.¹

Sydenham refused to budge from his attitude. Intolerant of opposition, determined not to have truck or traffic with critics of himself or of the home government, he flatly refused to honour a commitment into which Arthur had entered before his arrival. But he never communicated this to Robinson. He left Arthur to get out of his moral obligations as best he could, which must have been all the more unpleasant for Arthur, not only because he felt personally committed to Robinson's re-establishment, but because Robinson was financially pressed as the result of the loss of the £400 a year and was frank in stating he would never have asked for leave of absence had he known he was going to lose his office.²

Or look at the case of John Macaulay. He had taken office as surveyor-general of the Upper Province with some reluctance and only under pressure. He was later inspector-general of accounts and then accepted the appointment of civil secretary with even greater reluctance because he would go out of office when Arthur ceased to be lieutenant-governor. It is fairly obvious that some arrangement must have been arrived at. Arthur considered him "the only man of business" as an accountant in his government.³ Sydenham wanted him in office as "a kind of Finance Minister" for the United Provinces, and regarded him "as having the first claim to it, as well from his Character, which I fully appreciate, as a Man of business".⁴ One of the requirements, however, was that Macaulay must take a seat in the legislative assembly. This he could not bring himself to do, such was his dread of public speaking. Sydenham was

very much grieved by his decision, and shall be yet more annoyed if I find he perseveres in it. He is an excellent man of business, and has . . . the strongest claims on the Govt., having varied his situations to meet their convenience not his own.⁵

¹ *Arthur Papers*, Arthur to Thomson, 8th June, 1840.

² *Ibid.*, Robinson to Arthur, 16th Dec., 1840; 23rd Dec.

³ *Ibid.*, Arthur to Sydenham, 7th Nov., 1840.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sydenham to Arthur, 1st Nov., 1840.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 15th Nov., 1840.

Again Arthur must have been conscious of being committed to an obligation which could hardly be regarded as cancelled because Macaulay declined a situation for which he conscientiously felt himself unfitted. Yet thereafter Macaulay was almost ignored by Sydenham. Though still nominally in office and a member of the legislative council, seven months later he says :

I see very little of the officers of Govt. & know nothing of their plans & views [...] Indeed I have not met the Governor-General for a fortnight & know not what he intends as regards myself,¹

and a month later again, in recounting an interview with Sydenham, he says :

my having any scruples about the terms on which I could undertake the duty he proposed to assign to me was the offence never to be forgiven.²

The ousting of Macaulay was temporarily delayed by Sydenham's sudden death a few weeks later.

Sydenham's methods are evident in his attempt to secure the election to the united parliament of Harrison, one of his provincial secretaries. Amongst his criticisms of the administrative machinery was the lack of actual representatives of the government in the House of Assembly to present and push government measures, that is, the governor-general's measures. We have just seen that he required Macaulay to sit there. The same requirement was presented to Dunn, the receiver-general, and to Harrison. Harrison selected the constituency of Hamilton, but Sir Allan Napier MacNab, speaker of the Upper Canadian House of Assembly, chose to contest that seat. When Harrison's defeat seemed probable, there was much manœuvring. Almost an entire militia regiment was moved from Hamilton³ to reduce MacNab's chances. His militia services, which had brought him the knighthood following the 1837 Rebellion, would have given him the support of the regiment. Sydenham was even willing to promise him a seat in the upper house and an appointment

¹ *Arthur Papers*, Macaulay to Arthur, 27th July, 1841.

² *Ibid.*, 9th Aug., 1841.

³ *Ibid.*, Sydenham to Arthur, 3rd Nov., 1840 ; Arthur to Sydenham, 10th Nov. ; 26th Nov.

as surveyor of forests at £500 a year more, or the command of a regiment again ¹ if this would secure his retirement. Again, Kingston had been fixed as the seat of the government, but when Harrison was likely to need another constituency after prospective defeat at Hamilton, Sydenham was willing to produce in the newspapers "a doubtful article upon the permanency of the Seat of Government there". Under such a doubt it would, of course, obviously pay Kingston to have a provincial secretary as its representative.

But in no other single direction is Sydenham's adroitness more clearly shown than in his handling of the responsible government question. He must have been bound by Russell's opposition to it, and there is no evidence that he ever went beyond his reiterated statements of his "intentions to administer the government of this colony in unison with the wishes of the people".² The phrase was vague, and was open to a wide range of interpretation, yet he managed to secure its acceptance by such doctrinaire responsible government protagonists as Howe in Nova Scotia and Robert Baldwin in Upper Canada. There is some evidence of his having persuaded Howe that to push things to a crisis in Nova Scotia would imperil what was on point of achievement in the two Canadas, but there was no such easy approach to Robert Baldwin. Nevertheless Robert Baldwin, whose ability, clear mind, and integrity are undoubted, accepted office as solicitor-general and executive councillor under him.

So far as the general populace of Upper Canada was concerned there is no doubt that many reformers would have been contented with any machinery which would have resulted in the country being governed in accordance with the wishes of the people. They would have agreed perhaps with Sydenham's own statements to the home government that all that was needed was a strong government, ably administered, and benevolently inclined. To get support for such a policy he toured the upper province, and he did this

¹ *Arthur Papers*, Sydenham to Arthur, 1st March, 1841.

² E.g. *Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada*, 1839-1840, pp. 33-34, 38.

practically as a party leader. This tour is perhaps the key to his system. It was the triumphant progress of a benevolent despotism, which depends for its stability on popular support. He took every opportunity to receive addresses, and in reply to explain the magnificent future which lay before the country if sanity, good feeling, and unity were allowed to prevail. . . . "All parties uniting in addresses at every place [he said], full of confidence in my government, and of a determination to forget their former disputes. Escorts of two and three hundred farmers on horseback at every place from township to township, with all the etceteras of guns, music and flags. What is of more importance, my candidates everywhere taken for the ensuing elections ; in short, such unanimity and confidence I never saw, and it augurs well for the future." ¹

This all seems straightforward until Sydenham's relations with Baldwin come into the picture. Baldwin had stated his views in precise and argued language to Glenelg as far back as 1836, and had repeated them to Durham in 1838. His opinions were thoroughly well known, and he never faltered in them. In essence they were full cabinet responsibility. For a short time he had been a member of the executive council of Upper Canada but had resigned when it was obvious that it was the will of the lieutenant-governor (Sir Francis Bond Head) and not the advice of the council that was to be followed.

Baldwin, on taking office under Sydenham, reiterated his adherence to his views on responsible government. Sydenham knew this,² but his only response was :

I am not afraid of any trouble with your Sol. General about responsible gov. I had a full explanation with him and brought him to Book on Lord John's dispatch upon the subject, in which all his views are fully detailed.³

Another of Sydenham's private comments was :

I believe that the extremes of both parties only *pretend* to misunderstand the matter. The Radicals know very well that they cannot have a British Cabinet in a Colony—and the Tories only charge them with wishing for it, because they fear the establishment of the practical system of Govt. which Ld. John [Russell] and I desire to give them, which will cut up their power root and branch. A *Strong* Executive can only be one which has generally the confidence of the People.⁴

¹ Kennedy, *Constitution of Canada*, 2nd ed., 1938, p. 195.

² *Arthur Papers*, Arthur to Thomson, 29th Feb. ; 5th Mar. ; April, 1840.

³ *Ibid.*, Thomson to Arthur, 8th March, 1840.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 29th March, 1840.

The situation, involving Baldwin as it does, becomes almost incomprehensible except in terms of (Sir) Francis Hincks' comment :

Privately His Excellency makes *the most liberal promises*,
and

*We think it policy to assume that Mr. T[homson] is sincere.*¹

Yet this is not in keeping with Baldwin's own character, although he had some doubts from the very beginning, because he had said

that his tenure of office would probably be so short that he would not be justified in purchasing a new silk gown—that he should wear an old one of his father's which he being the first Reformer in Upper Canada had worn,²

and his subsequent actions showed that he felt an urgent need for safeguarding his own position. As soon as the union executive council was set up, Baldwin took the step of sending to four of his colleagues his well-known letters expressing his complete lack of political confidence in them. Arthur considered this

attempt . . . to thwart the Government at the very crisis of their Exertions to establish peace and harmony is most unpardonable.³

Sydenham had said :

was there ever such an ass ! . . . I shall give him my opinion on it, which if he does not like, he may walk off,⁴

and his statement to Baldwin seems clear enough :

My intentions with regard to the conduct of my administration are perfectly well known to you. Before I offered you the office of Solicitor General, I gave you Lord J. Russell's dispatch & informed you that it contained an exposition of the principles on which it would be conducted, & you have since had the opportunity of seeing them fully explained by me in my answer to the Halifax address.

I have composed my Council of those gentlemen who at present hold the offices of the Govt. & therefore included you in the number—I shall apply to them for advice when I consider it expedient to do so, & I hope they will be found

¹ *LaFontaine Papers* in Canadian archives, Hincks to LaFontaine, 4th Dec., 1839 ; 15th Aug., 1840.

² *Arthur Papers*, Jones to Arthur, 13th April, 1840.

³ *Ibid.*, Arthur to Sydenham, 4th March, 1841.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sydenham to Arthur, 27th Feb., 1841.

to agree in that which they will tender to me, & that it will be such as I can accept. If they cannot agree, then will be the time for me to decide between their conflicting opinions, & act according to what I deem best for the interests of the Crown, & most in conformity with the wishes of the people.¹

Baldwin confessed "to an almost nervous anxiety to be forever placed beyond the reach of personal misapprehension"; he regretted that his communications had not been received in the spirit in which they had been made; and replying to Sydenham in the third person he said:

Mr. Baldwin however is anxious to believe that the course which His Excellency shall feel called upon to take may be such as to enable Mr. Baldwin to afford his cooperation however humble as Lord John Russell's despatches and the Governor General's answers to addresses as Mr. Baldwin understands them have already assured him, that there is no difference between his Excellency & himself as to the principle upon which the Executive Government of the Country is hereafter to be administered.²

If any valid explanation can be put forward, it is only that Baldwin was acting cautiously but honestly short of any point which might compromise his principles, inspired by a hope that he might prove justified in placing a liberal interpretation on Sydenham's intentions.

On Sydenham's side the thing seems to have been sheer opportunism. He was including Baldwin in his government and placating other reformers in order to get the support of their party. After having measured Baldwin as "a Leader without troops",³ he thought he had

nailed Baldwin in the correspondence. I thought it a capital opportunity of doing so, and felt confident that he wd. knock under as you see he did directly. I really believe that when away from that mischievous old ass, his Father, good may be made of him. However, if I cannot, I shall make no bones of ejecting him.⁴

It seems fairly obvious that Sydenham believed he could manipulate Baldwin. If so, his ability "to manage men" led him astray. Baldwin "ejected" himself by resigning his offices a few days before the assembling of the first union

¹ *Arthur Papers*, Sydenham to Baldwin, 1st March, 1841.

² *Ibid.*, Baldwin to Sydenham, 5th March, 1841.

³ *Ibid.*, Sydenham to Arthur, 18th Feb., 1841.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 15th March, 1841.

parliament. Sydenham's gloss on the situation was expressed in a letter to Arthur (then in England) :

You will have been amused by hearing that your predictions about Baldwin were completely verified. He gave me a vast great deal of trouble, for he had persuaded the Upper Canada Reformers that the French Canadians were reformers too, and he wore out my patience till I thought that I could hold out no longer and *must* have ejected him. However, I held on until I had got my man completely into the wrong in every way and then got rid of him without his being able to carry any one with him except Price and Durand, & of course Hincks. Even the latter has now partially separated from him however, and he is left leading the rump of the old French Canadian party along with McNab (!!) who sits cheek by jowl with him as a *Brother Reformer*.¹

The most enlightened summary of the situation is provided by a letter from Arthur in 1842 to Lord Stanley, then colonial secretary :

I find by the Canadian Papers wh. I received by the last Mail that questions have arisen . . . which have occasioned rather violent party debates & subsequently a schism between the Govr & his ministers which was carried to such a length, as to leave no hope but that the latter must resign or be removed. . . .

Upon the question of Responsible Govt Lord Sydenham's answers to some Addresses corresponded with all that he ever concurred in my stating. To the advocates for that measure, he always expressed his concurrence in it, in general terms ; but, those terms he most cautiously abstained from defining—except, in one particular upon which I can speak most positively from the following circumstance.

On his mentioning to me his intention to offer the Appt of Solicitor Genl to Mr. Robert Baldwin I observed to him that I concluded he must have made up his mind to sanction the principle of Responsible Govt to the full extent for wh. Mr. Baldwin had been so strenuous an advocate ; and would make no appts to office except by the advice & with the consent of the Executive Council. He replied that he was sure Mr. Baldwin wd never contend for a measure wh. so utterly set at naught the prerogative of the Crown ; & that if the Govt was administered in accordance with the well known wishes of the Majority of the People it was all for wh. Mr. Baldwin contended. ["As I had frequently discussed the point with many of Mr. R. Baldwin's friends & frequently with his father I told Lord S. that I had not a doubt he was mistaken."] ²

A few days afterwards Mr. Baldwin was appd ; & having called upon me on his taking office I adverted to the subject ; & to my surprize I found

¹ *Arthur Papers*, Sydenham to Arthur, 27th July, 1841.

² The document is an incomplete draft autograph letter in which the sentence here given in square brackets is cancelled.

Mr. Baldwin was as strenuous as ever for Responsible Govt to its fullest extent,—including the appt. to Public Offices by the advice of the Council.

I lost no time in concluding there must be a serious misundg. between the Parties,—in mentioning the circumstances. to Lord Sydenham—who assured me that Mr. B. must wilfully mistake him if there were any mistake—that he shd not take the trouble to undeceive him—in a matter so absurd.¹

Space now remains only for the examination of one other point, Sydenham's belief in the permanence of his work. From the beginning of the union parliament he believed he had settled Canadian affairs.

I have got my House into capital order—a sure majority of two to one upon any question I chuse and in support of my administration ; and whoever follows me may now, with management, keep everything quiet and rule with comfort.²

And again, two or three months later :

nothing therefore can now prevent or mar the most complete success and Canada must henceforward go on well except it is most terribly mismanaged.³

And three weeks later again, after the passing of the act establishing district councils :

Now it is impossible for any Governor or any Parliament to prevent the Union Act working well.⁴

He had also told Arthur that he

regarded his measures as having been so masterly that it was scarcely in the power of his successor to move the machine of Govt. out of its grooves.⁵

But Sydenham miscalculated what the situation would be when the “ great practical measures ” on which nearly all persons were prepared to agree were cleared out of the way. Others could see further than Sydenham did. The old question of “ responsibility ” would then inevitably come to the front again—as it did. Arthur was only one of a number who foretold Sydenham's inability to withstand a second session. And Elgin in 1847 wrote :

¹ *Arthur Papers*, Arthur to Stanley, 1842.

² *Letters from Lord Sydenham*, ed. Knaplund, 1931, p. 146. Sydenham to Russell, 27th June, 1841.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-158. Sydenham to Russell, 4th Aug., 1841.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 162. Sydenham to Russell, 28th Aug., 1841.

⁵ *Arthur Papers*, Arthur to Robinson, 25th Jan., 1842.

I never cease to marvel what study of human nature or of history led him to the conclusion that it would be possible to concede to a pushing enterprising people . . . such Constitutional privileges . . . and yet to limit in practice their power of self-government as he proposed.¹

Bagot, when he succeeded Sydenham, found that it was already impossible for the government to command a majority, and he wrote to Stanley

It was only by dint of the greatest energy and I must add the unscrupulous personal interference of Lord Sydenham, combined with practices which I would not use, and your Lordship would not recommend, in addition to the promise of the Loan and the bribe of the public Works, that Lord Sydenham managed to get through the Session.²

Indeed, even while Sydenham was alive, Chief Justice Robinson told Arthur :

I know that when a person whose advice he [Sydenham] must have felt was disinterested expressed the apprehension that by the course His Lordship was taking he was laying the foundation of much future evil, and that it would be found scarcely possible for his successor to carry on the Government, after the feelings and expectations which he had created, his answer was " I have nothing to do with that—I did not come to govern this Country—I would not have come for that purpose—I came to carry through particular measures and those measures I *will* carry— My successors must govern the Country as they can." ³

Arthur could not " comprehend how he cd. have made any such declaration as you describe him to have done to a respectable person ",⁴ but apart from the first and last clauses of the citation, the statement is doubtless true. Sydenham had come out to establish the union, and this of course involved the successful management of the first session of the union parliament. He underwrote the achievement by his tour of the country to gather popular support for his own supporters, by his promised relief of Upper Canadian debt, by his election manœuvres, by his division of certain Lower Province constituencies to secure the return of such supporters as he could from that province, by his coercion of government officers,

¹ *Elgin-Grey Correspondence*, in Canadian archives, Elgin to Grey, 26th April, 1847.

² *Bagot Papers*, in Canadian archives, Bagot to Stanley, 26th Sept., 1842.

³ *Arthur Papers*, Robinson to Arthur, 28th Sept., 1841.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Arthur to Robinson, 25th Jan., 1842.

by his overtures to the reformers, by his success in enveloping the question of responsible government in what has been called a "lucid fog", in short by his opportunism and the force of his personality. And in view of all the circumstances, whatever were the methods he used, it was an amazing achievement even though his majorities in the union parliament were not those which his personal jubilation might suggest (e.g. 42 to 30 in the assembly on the municipal councils measure). But it should be remembered that his choicest bait to Upper Canada, that of the unification of the public debt, was correspondingly distasteful to the Lower Canadians. One of the Upper Canadian representatives was in Montreal just before the union elections and

met with "Cavillier", one of the demagogues—who complained sadly about the Upper Canada debt. I told him that it was all we had & that we divided it equally & fairly.¹

Some of the internal reforms passed in Sydenham's only session of the union parliament proved of lasting value, especially those in the domain of municipal government. And although Sydenham's death came at a critical moment, the union of the provinces stood until it merged into confederation in 1867. But his immediate successors lived, and even died, in stormy times. Bagot died in Canada, and Metcalfe returned home to die. The union itself had an uneasy life until Elgin faced the question of responsible government not only with honesty (both Bagot and Metcalfe had done that in their own way) but with the enlightenment which time had brought even to Russell. Cabinet responsibility was accepted as an established fact in 1849.

The reasons for Sydenham's coercion and lack of compromise are open to anyone's conjecture. It is obvious that he could have compromised and still have remained well within the home government's real intentions concerning union—those which lay behind the formal expressions in his instructions. Was his haste prompted by his desire to secure his reward from an already tottering home government?

¹ *Arthur Papers*, Sullivan to Arthur, 1st March, 1841.

The English government acknowledged Sydenham's work so far as to give him a longed-for peerage and the G.C.B. Russell had said to Melbourne :

Thomson wants to have a peerage before he consents to go to Canada. This will not do.¹

But the peerage was promised. Whilst waiting for the results on the union bill in the British parliament, Sydenham writes to Russell on 28th June, 1840 :

I have *no* letter from Lord Melbourne by the Gr. Western, which however, if it was true what you tell me, another put off, I do not regret. But I think his conduct in the business most unfair and almost insulting to me. The Queen's pleasure taken some months ago, as I was informed by yourself—the very ridiculous difficulties & with regard to the title for which alone, I was informed he waited, removed—and now a fresh delay.

I have borne this hitherto from the wish to do nothing which could annoy you, or injure the Public service, but I can submit to it no longer especially as it is now matter of remark that I should apparently have performed my business well, and have no testimony to this being felt at home— People begin to doubt that I have satisfied the Queen or the govt., and I cannot either forbear contrasting this delay in the redemption of a solemn pledge to me with the speed with which honours have been conferred on others.

I must beg you therefore, if Lord Melbourne still delays, to allow me to return home at once. The business which I engaged to do is done as you admit beyond your expectations, and at home I may at least enquire whether the Queen's pleasure has been reversed and take my own course.²

He adds a postscript to another letter to Russell two months later :

The newspapers contain *four* gazettes since the assent was given to the Union Bill, & I see nothing of my Peerage. I suppose Ld. Melbourne means to go the whole hog in promise-breaking. So be it—but it is really a little too bad.³

Actually the announcement of his peerage was on its way out to him. When he sent his formal resignation in July, 1841, he asked for the G.C.B., adding :

You know perhaps that there was a question giving it me *before* I started from England, when Lord Melbourne recommended me not to press it as he said it

¹ Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell*, 1889, vol. 1, p. 335.

² *Letters from Lord Sydenham*, ed. Knaplund, pp. 79-80. Thomson to Russell, 28th June, 1840.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 87. Thomson to Russell, 28th Aug., 1840.

might make the Peerage to which he was pledged less easy for him in the *event of my failing*. He wrote "nothing but the most decided and complete success could justify the giving of both, and if it come at all doubtful as it may very easily be, not only without any fault of your's but consistently with the greatest merit it would become impossible to superadd the additional honor to that which would already have been conferred". The question therefore is raised whether I have completely succeeded or not, and it would be most gratifying to me to have it solved in the affirmative.¹

The G.C.B. also came, and he acknowledged it in his last letter to Russell, on 11th September, 1841, dictated from his death-bed a few days after what proved to be his fatal accident. When in his last hours he made his will, he left a legacy to Russell,

repeating twice in a firm and emphatic tone, "He was the noblest man it was ever my good fortune to know".²

¹ *Letters from Lord Sydenham*, ed. Knaplund, p. 155-156. Sydenham to Russell, 27th July, 1841.

² Mrs. Gordon Mackenzie, Sydenham's niece, in *Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto, Transaction No. 7*, 1907, p. 23.

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TO THE FIRST TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES OF
THE BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

COMPILED BY
THOMAS MURCATROYD,
ASSISTANT-SECRETARY IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

THE following index is intended to be a full guide to contributors of articles, together with selected subject- and title-entries. As the index is designed primarily as a Library tool, the entries under John Rylands Library have been given comparatively full treatment; for the rest full information is given under the author-entry only, and reference from the subsidiary headings is necessary. Most headings are arranged alphabetically, but in some cases the arrangement is chronological, as being the more logical.

It has been thought useful to add as an Appendix a full chronological list of Library publications, together with a few other publications relating to the Library that did not in the first place appear in the pages of the BULLETIN, and short references to these works have, therefore, been included in the main index. Similarly, a few references are to the "Bibliography" of Dr. Guppy's writings which appears earlier in the present volume. It may be assumed that all articles of any length appearing in the BULLETIN have been reprinted separately, and, in consequence, these articles, with a few exceptions, are not included in the Appendix. The great majority of the unsigned articles have been contributed by the Librarian.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge valued assistance from colleagues on the Library staff, particularly my Chief, Dr. Henry Guppy, for advice and encouragement, Dr. Frank Taylor, whose aid has been unstinted throughout, and Mr. Lewis Whittaker, who has checked many references for me.

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Stockholm, 1891. 4to, pp. 29.

* * Not published by the Library.

Catalogue of books in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of books in English printed abroad to the end of the year, 1640. [Edited by E. G. Duff.]

Manchester, 1895. 4to, pp. iii, 147.

Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Catalogue of Chinese books and manuscripts [now in the J.R.L.]. [Compiled by J. P. Edmond.] *Privately printed*, [Aberdeen], 1895. 4to, pp. xi, 90.

* * 100 copies printed. Not published by the Library.

Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Hand-list of Oriental manuscripts, Arabic, Persian, Turkish [now in the J.R.L.]. [Compiled by M. Kerney.]

Privately printed, [Aberdeen], 1898. 4to, pp. xli, 268.

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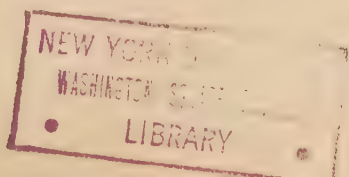
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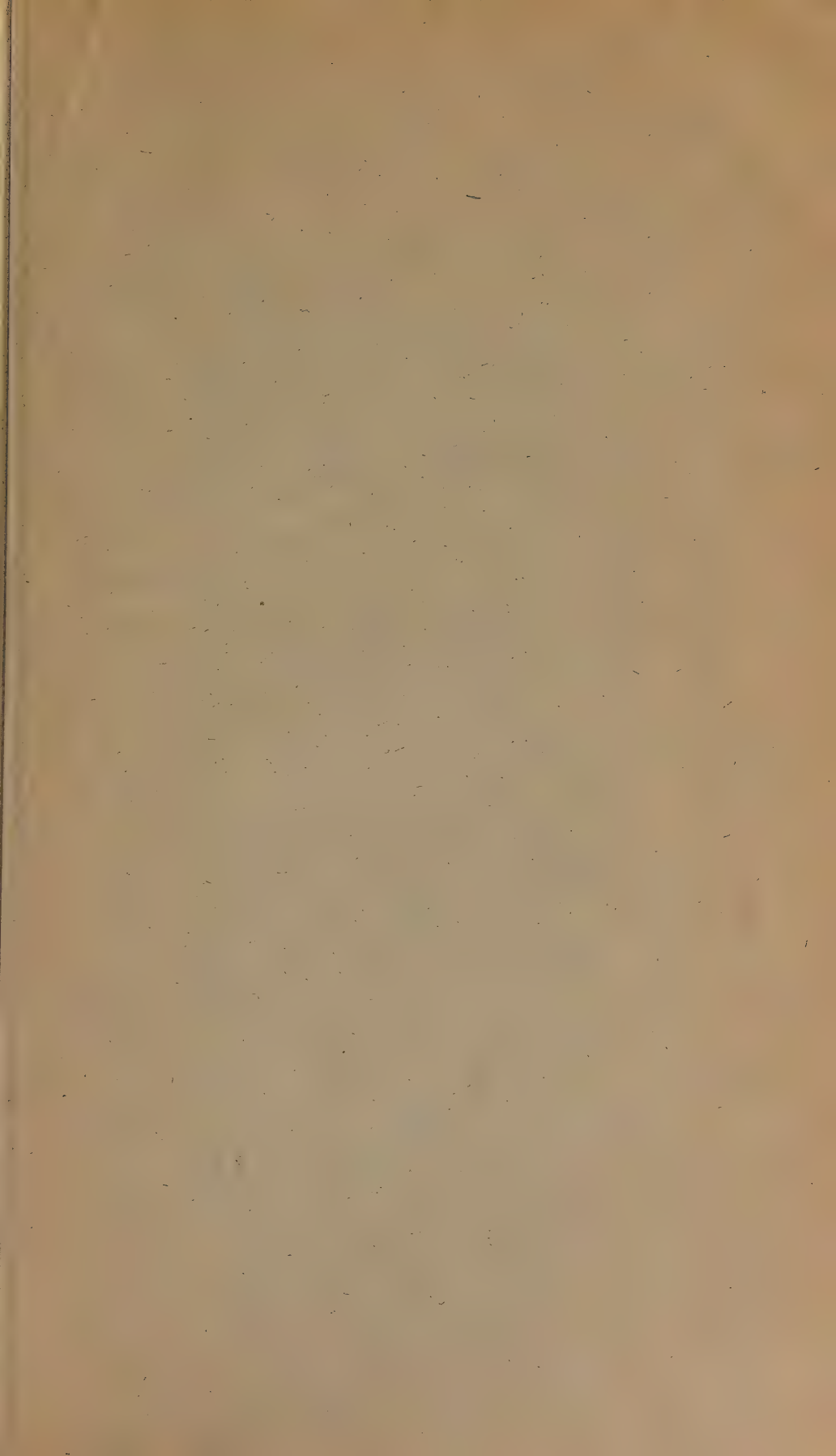
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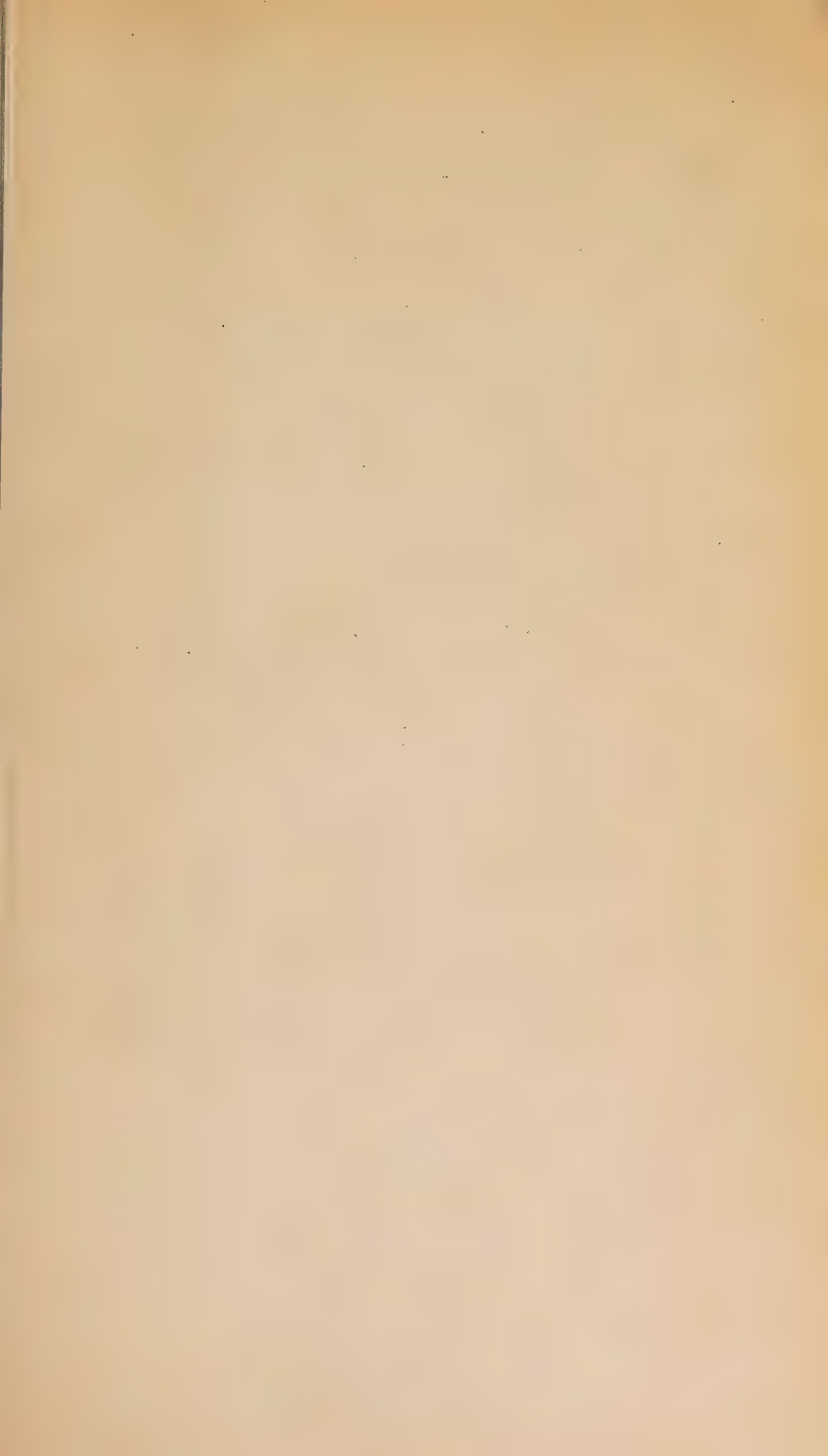
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